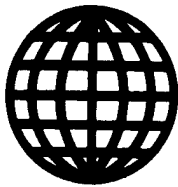


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[Translation of the Russian-language theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow 18 times per year]

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The Great October Revolution and the Contemporary World

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No 2, Jan 88 (signed to press 15 Jan 88) pp 3-18

[Article by Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; article based on a report delivered at the international scientific conference on "The Great October and Our Time"]

[Text] At the present turning point in human civilization we are becoming particularly aware of the extent of the historical significance of all that happened in Russia in October 1917. Essentially, in precisely the same way the 19th century was under the influence of the French revolution, the 200th anniversary of which will be celebrated soon, the most important sociopolitical processes of our century display the ineradicable imprint of the Great October Revolution.

The October Revolution triggered a powerful revolutionary wave and brought into motion the profound forces of social progress. This marked the beginning of socialism which became the most important political and ideological factor of our time.

The October Revolution had tremendous impact on capitalist society. In the first post-October years Lenin could point out with full justification that "...today the entire world has changed. The bourgeoisie everywhere has changed as well" (*"Poln. Sobr. Soch."* [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, p 85).

The October Revolution stimulated the growth of the national self-awareness of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries. It became the greatest international factor in the development of the liberation struggle, which ended with the collapse of colonialism and the appearance of dozens of independent countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The October Revolution triggered deep changes in the system of international relations. It helped to assert in the world arena the right of nations to self-determination and other progressive principles and laid the beginning of the shaping of a new, a democratic world order.

All the components of the world have radically changed in 7 decades: its material foundation, political face and spiritual appearance. Today new problems face the USSR, socialism and mankind at large. The specific course and future of revolutionary renovation are different today from what they were for the revolutionaries

who stormed the Winter Palace. Does this mean that the time which distances us from the October Revolution is leading us in a different direction? Not in the least! On the contrary, the need for a more profound interpretation and mastery of the historical experience of the October Revolution and the multiplication of its traditions has become even more pressing and relevant.

It is essentially now, when the revolutionary restructuring of Soviet society is under way, and when the struggle for peace and disarmament has reached new levels, that Marxist thought faces the increasingly urgent task of not losing the link of revolutionary continuity and, based on the tried dialectical method, providing an answer to many questions reformulated by life and ensuring the qualitative growth and creative development of our theoretical heritage.

The celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and the meeting with representatives of parties and movements held on the occasion of the anniversary were major landmarks in contemporary social development. M.S. Gorbachev's report at the solemn session and his address at the meeting and the addresses of the heads of the fraternal parties and movements and representatives of the public led us to a higher level of interpretation of past events and understanding of the problems to be solved. As to the CPSU and the USSR, we can boldly claim that a new impetus was given to restructuring, to international activities and to the enrichment of theory.

I

This applies above all to understanding the **nature of the contemporary age**. The tempestuous upheavals which divided the world into two social systems gave grounds to the conclusion that our age is an age of proletarian revolutions and of transition from capitalism to socialism. At that time, under the influence of the victorious October Revolution and the revolutionary upsurge in the West, the ideas of the fast growth of the revolutionary process on a global scale prevailed in our political and theoretical concepts. The very need for peaceful coexistence was initially based on the need for a breathing spell, and the importance of enduring until the proletariat had won its victory in Europe and in the rest of the world.

As early as 1920, however, subsequent to the most severe trials of the civil war and foreign intervention, Lenin wrote: "...We have not only a breathing spell but something much more serious.... We have a new period of development" (op cit., vol 42, p 22). The concept of the NEP, which he formulated soon afterwards, shifted, as M.S. Gorbachev said, Lenin's "idea of peaceful coexistence ('peaceful cohabitation') from an initially strictly political and even diplomatic area to the area of the fundamental laws of our age."

Subsequently, however, for awhile this idea was not extensively substantiated and implemented. This was not the result of malicious intent. As G.V. Chicherin, one of the heads of Soviet diplomacy at that time, noted, it was necessary to make a difficult transition "from the previous views held by a clandestine revolutionary party to the political realism of a government in power...."

Furthermore, the history of our state developed in such a way that in the course of decades after the revolution we lived and built a new society in a situation of hostile encirclement and of acute confrontation between two systems. The narrowness of their class view prevented the Western ruling circles from evaluating the promising nature of the idea of peaceful coexistence and seeing in it a foundation for a new type of international relations. The bourgeoisie made a different choice: it relied on military intervention, economic blockade and political pressure. Under those circumstances, the country of victorious socialist revolution had to rely on its own efforts in virtually everything. This nurtured feelings of autarchy, of a closed society, and of a watchful attitude toward the other world which was by no means "friendly."

The hope for a fast development of the global revolutionary process on a world-wide scale prevailed subsequently as well, in the first postwar period. It seemed to be supported by the changed correlation of forces between capitalism and socialism as a result of the defeat of Hitlerite Germany and militaristic Japan, the victory of the people's democratic revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries and the upsurge of the national liberation movement throughout the world.

Subsequently, some corrections were made to these concepts, taking into consideration specific historical processes. By the end of the 1950s, under the influence of the concepts formulated at the 20th CPSU Congress, peaceful coexistence between the two systems began to be considered a separate historical period of development, in the course of which the economic competition between the two systems would develop. However, even then the approach to that problem was linked to the hope of gaining supremacy over capitalism in the economic competition in no more than 1 or 2 decades.

The real historical process proved that this viewpoint was not profoundly substantiated. Having established a grip on the scientific and technical revolution, capitalism began to restructure its economy quite rapidly and to advance. As we assess its real development, we must note that for a long time our social science and, to a certain extent, political practice proceeded from concepts which had been formulated decades in the past. The falsely understood concept of "ideological sterility" narrowed the theoretical outlook and led to the fact that in the study of contemporary capitalism, ignoring Lenin's methodology, an effort was made to find strictly arguments in favor of its decay and inevitable collapse. Naturally, this aspect of the matter deserved extensive study. However, scientific analysis should not have

ignored other essential problems, such as the ability of contemporary capitalism to rise to new levels of production socialization, to broaden the limits of growth of production forces and to adapt to the global challenges of the age.

The theory of imperialism as a separate stage in capitalist society took shape, as we know, on the eve of the October Revolution. At that time monopoly capitalism was only assuming its features. It is self-evident that it was conceived as a sort of superstructure over the foundations of capitalism of the age of free enterprise, as a short-time and very transient concluding stage of that system.

It was a natural thing for Marx to conceive of premonopoly capitalism as a form consistent with that production method. The trend toward production monopoly in his lifetime had still not assumed decisive significance. That is why the specific forms of capitalism, capital and added value, which developed in the course of free competition, were depicted in the third volume of *Das Kapital* as inherent forms of capitalism in general. Lenin as well found this approach unquestionable. His analysis of imperialism was interpreted as a supplement to Marx's theory. This is understandable, for monopoly capitalism was merely developing its outline, while state-monopoly capitalism was only an inchoate trend.

We must most strongly emphasize, however, that already then, based on data of a relatively short historical period, Lenin convincingly proved that the conversion to imperialism must not be reduced merely to politics and that it is a profound restructuring of production relations within capitalism which broadens opportunities for the development of its production forces and production socialization and which, at the same time, reproduces its contradictions, ascribing a characteristic form to their development.

Lenin believed that the trend toward stagnation and decay under imperialism is not absolute and that it will assume the upper hand "in some industrial sectors, in individual countries, and within certain time intervals" (op cit., vol 27, p 397). He cautioned that "it would be an error to think that this trend toward decay excludes the fast growth of capitalism" which, as a whole, is growing "immeasurably faster than in the past" (Ibid., p 422).

Imperialism aggravated the old and triggered new contradictions. It doomed mankind to two world wars which shook up the world of man. However, the capitalist system was nonetheless able to adapt to the new circumstances. It was able to endure, despite the establishment of the socialist system. It withstood the breakdown of the imperialist colonial system and tried to compensate it through a variety of forms of neocolonial and, of late, technological exploitation of the developing countries; it found sufficient resources for the intensification of the

scientific and technical revolution; it used economic growth to suppress the class struggle and to expand the boundaries of social maneuvering.

State-monopoly capitalism was able to advance on the path of internationalization of public production and economic integration. For the first time supranational mechanisms for controlling political and economic contradictions were created, which prevent matters from reaching dangerous situations, although occasionally they also fail.

Delegates to the 27th Congress noted that capitalism of the 1980s is different not only from the capitalism at the turn of the century and even the 1950s and 1960s, but also from the capitalism of the 1970s. Now, when monopoly capitalism is nearing its centennial, concepts of it as some kind of modification of 19th-century classical capitalism increasingly clash with the true state of affairs. The following question arises: Could it be that the age of free competition was, conversely, the predecessor of monopoly capitalism and the latter a form consistent with the capitalist production method?

Naturally, this is a hypothesis which is worth discussing and the verdict will be issued by life itself. However, a great deal of factors speak in favor of such an understanding, including the fact that the premonopoly capitalism, which had developed as a result of the industrial revolution, had existed in England for about a century and in other countries even less, a few decades, that it was precisely the conversion to imperialism that completed the establishment of the world capitalist system, and so on. With such an understanding the significance of Lenin's theory of monopoly capitalism as the most important organic part of the scientific theory of the capitalist production method is highlighted even further.

Naturally, it does not follow from the ability of capitalism to adapt to the new circumstances that its antagonistic nature has changed. To the contrary, whatever its defenders may be saying, referring to individual cases of economic growth or certain accomplishments in living standards in the developed capitalist countries, they are unable to dampen the main faults of bourgeois society—its antihuman nature, fierce competitive struggle and cyclical nature of capitalist development. Is this not confirmed by the new outbreak of contradictions which have been so profoundly manifested in the stock market crisis, which was the worst in the entire postwar period?

It would be difficult today for anyone to deny the fact that capitalism has been unable to settle the contradiction between owners and hired labor and exploiters and exploited, to eliminate poverty, to ensure work for all able-bodied people and to provide them with social guarantees and possibilities of spiritual development. In addition to the old "classical" contradictions within capitalism, ever new ones have appeared. Militarism, the destruction of culture and morality, and neocolonialism,

which deprives of a future a significant segment of mankind and is fraught with the threat of a global explosion, bear a tremendous charge of destructive power.

We cannot fail to see all such distorted features inherent in bourgeois society at the end of the 20th century as well as a certain endurance. Today we have sufficient grounds to assume that the legitimate change of socioeconomic systems will be spread over a broader historical segment than appeared earlier, with a considerable variety of transitional forms. Hence the prospect of **lengthy coexistence and interaction between the two social systems, in the course of the competition between which a comparison between their social and economic efficiency will take place.**

However, it is not merely a matter of the time frame within which socialism and capitalism can coexist. Our understanding of the very nature and forms of coexistence must be updated. The idea that the two systems are moving along parallel tracks is an illusion. The interdependence of the world is such that these "parallels" are bound to cross, that the two systems and the countries belonging to them will closely interact within the framework of the overall development of the world in the scientific and technical, economic and social areas, in human relations and in the solution of global problems. Actually, this process is already taking place.

The most difficult theoretical and practical problem arises of defining the type of interaction between us and the rest of the world under which socialism would most actively participate in global development processes and in the international division of labor while, at the same time, preserve its socialist "primogeniture," and not isolate itself from the world community but become an intrinsic part of it, influencing it with its presence, active efforts and real participation in the solution of the vital problems of mankind. In a word, it is a question of ascribing a modern meaning to the Leninist formula of peaceful coexistence among countries with different systems, in its entire depth and volume.

The universal significance of this formula is particularly clear through the lens of time. Its main components are acknowledging the variety of the world and the multivariant nature of development, the inseparable link between the fate of socialism and the historical paths of global progress, the peaceful nature of relations among countries belonging to different social systems, and the development between them of extensive political, trade and economic, scientific and technical, cultural and other relations. These most important dominants are the foundations of the new political thinking developed by the CPSU.

This new thinking, which encompasses the fundamental Leninist ideas, was developed under the influence of present-day realities which characterize human civilization at its turning point at the end of the 20th century. It

takes into consideration the growing interconnection in the world, the realities of the nuclear age and the scientific and technical revolution, and the priority of universal human values. It provides an answer to the gravest problems of our time, that of the survival of mankind above all.

In the spirit of the new thinking, proceeding from the growing integrity and contradictoriness of the world, we are also refining our concepts on the pace and content of social progress, its itinerary and motive forces. In general, we can say that scientific and technical and social progress is developing today under the conditions of the coexistence of two social systems, in the course of which their competition and rivalry will become increasingly intertwined through interaction and reciprocal influence. This is a process which is taking place through the renovation of socialism and its rise to a new qualitative status; through the struggle waged by the working class and the broad toiling masses within the capitalist system itself; through the solution of the gravest problems of the developing countries on the way to a profound restructuring of the global political and economic order; through the solution of global and universal problems and, above all, through the mandatory elimination of the threat of nuclear war and the creation of a nuclear-free nonviolent world.

II

The further development of the historical process and the future which mankind could expect depend, to a tremendous extent, on the **future development and renovation of socialism**, and its reaching a new qualitative condition.

Socialism is based on the aspiration of the masses toward the age-old ideals of freedom, equality and fraternity. The new social system responded to the wish of mankind. It tried to provide its own answers to the age-old problems of social life and to implement the basic values of humanism. However, the humanistic nature of socialism could not be fully brought to light immediately.

We and, later, other countries had to solve problems which did not stem directly from the nature of socialism but which were vitally necessary to solve in order to secure the revolutionary gains. The aspiration to come out of the clutches of economic and cultural backwardness and to defend our existence in the struggle against imperialist aggression and, subsequently, against the nuclear threat, combined with other factors, greatly predetermined the specific ways, means and pace of socialist changes and influenced the nature of socialism. The novelty, the unknown path and subjective errors and blunders also played a role in this case.

Despite all of this, however, socialism became firmly established as an important motive force of civilization. It proved its ability to make historical changes and to

ensure the social protection of the working people and their freedom from exploitation. It marked a tremendous progress in promoting equality among people and nations.

The present period, the second half of the 1980s, is of particular importance in the history of socialism. In the course of the restructuring which is developing in the Soviet Union and the profound reforms being made in the other socialist countries, new forms of organization of social life are developing, aimed at highlighting most fully the nature of socialism and its social and economic advantages. It is a question of making decisive changes in economics, politics and culture aimed at man, his needs and interests, and of renovating on this basis our concepts relative to socialist society and its ability to serve the people and to enrich their work and way of life.

By now our party and people have crossed an area of development of exceptional importance, saturated from the viewpoint of the interpretation of the past, present and future. A new moral and political atmosphere has been established in the society. Metaphorically speaking, the construction area has been thoroughly cleared. Whereas at the January and June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenums programs for reforms were formulated in the areas of the political system and the country's economy, in the course of the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution problems of our development were considered within a broad historical, ideological and political context. We have thus significantly advanced in realizing the need for and ways of renovation of socialism, restructuring and coming out of the period of stagnation in which the country found itself.

Within a short time we were able to shed a new, a realistic light on ourselves and our past and, above all, our future. Within that period a great deal was done also to free our lives from the scum, from that which caused moral harm to society and belittled the dignity of the Soviet person. Social awareness is becoming free from various types of dogmas, prejudices and illusions and unrealistic schemes which, for decades, held back the country's economic and spiritual development.

Today a different, a no less important and difficult stage has been reached, the essence of which is the materialization of restructuring and the translation of its ideas and thoughts into practical accomplishments. This work, as M.S. Gorbachev pointed out, is following two radical trends: the extensive democratization of society and a radical economic reform. The scale of the latter is confirmed by the fact that since the beginning of 1988, enterprises accounting for 60 percent of the industrial output have converted to the new economic management conditions. A major step forward must be taken to surmount the obstruction mechanism, command-administrative economic management methods, conservative stereotypes and the habit of drowning live accomplishments in a bureaucratic sea of paper.

Yes, time is urging us on. The people want decisive and fast action. If we lose time we may find ourselves in a difficult situation. However, we must not ignore something else as well: restructuring involves the destinies of millions of people. That is why unplanned and spontaneous actions, based exclusively on emotions, could only harm the cause. We must weigh each step thoroughly. We must compare it with the overall tasks and with the basic, the strategic objectives of restructuring and, at the same time, take into consideration the feelings of the people and our possibilities.

Only 2 years ago what we needed most of all was frank and sharp criticism. Such criticism is a natural condition for our party and for socialism. Criticism is needed also now and we shall not be able to do without it in the future as well. However, criticism alone and fits of exposure cannot surmount stagnation phenomena. This is a time during which people with developed economic thinking and the ability to organize fruitful and specific actions must obtain substantial results. Restructuring needs people with fresh thinking and energetic practical action.

Democratization plays a special role in the restructuring program. "The essence of restructuring," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized, "consists precisely of the fact that **it combines socialism with democracy....**" Efforts at reforms have been made in our country repeatedly in the past as well and the reason for which they failed to yield tangible results is, above all, that such changes were insufficiently profound and comprehensive. They did not affect the political area and did not contemplate the involvement of the human factor and the active participation of the people's masses.

We consider the problems of democratization of socialist society on the broadest possible level. We also link with it the radical restructuring of the economic mechanism and, therefore, production relations themselves. We would like to combine the interests of the individual, the collective and society much more extensively than we have done so far. We want to strengthen in the people a feeling of ownership and systematically to implement the most important principle of social justice under socialism: distribution according to labor.

This formulation of the question stems from the October Revolution, from Lenin. The theory and practice of restructuring, based on the study of contemporary conditions governing the development of our society, proceed from the need to eliminate anything which is alien to the nature of the socialist system and a return to the ideals and values of the October Revolution and the restoration of the Leninist concept of socialism.

The search of ways for the renovation of society and profound reforms, the purpose of which is to enhance socialism to a new qualitative level of development, is taking place in a number of fraternal countries. This fact

alone confirms that **world socialism has entered a new stage**, converting from one of its historical models to another, consistent with contemporary conditions and requirements.

Naturally, the socialist countries are accepting the need for change, restructuring and reform for reasons which are largely specific to them and are based on their own requirements. Despite all differences in the level of development of the individual countries and the natural non-coincidence in terms of sequence and the time of changes taking place, the high extent of similarity and closeness in their general direction are becoming apparent.

World socialism is entering a new stage also from the viewpoint of the restructuring of relations among socialist countries. The working meeting of heads of CEMA members, which was held in Moscow in November 1986, was of decisive importance in coordinating and consolidating this common approach. If we were to define briefly its main content, we could say that it was an acknowledgment of the need systematically to structure political relations among socialist countries on the basis of equality, autonomy, mutual responsibility, collective concern for common interests, observing the principles of mutual aid in economic relations and organically combining individual initiatives with an overall coordination of policy in international affairs.

Exchange of experience in building socialism and its joint summation in accordance with the familiar Leninist formula that "it is only through many attempts, each one of which will be one-sided and will suffer from a certain inconsistency, that integral socialism can be created on the basis of the revolutionary cooperation among the proletariat of all countries" (op cit., vol 36, p 306). Naturally, sociopolitical practice or, in more specific terms, accelerated socioeconomic development and strengthening socialism in fact, will be the supreme judges of our efforts and work.

Naturally, a great distance separates the principles on which cooperation is structured from actual practice. Today, however, we have all the necessary reasons to note that major changes have taken place in the implementation of the objectives we have set. Political cooperation among fraternal countries has been enhanced and so have the activities of all of their institutions. Work within the Warsaw Pact has become better organized, more efficient and truly collective. The initiative-mindedness of each individual member of this alliance has increased, as confirmed by the numerous foreign policy suggestions submitted by all of our countries, suggestions which have earned extensive recognition throughout the world.

The quite difficult problems involved in restructuring economic cooperation are also being converted to a practical level. In this case the overall concept has been established quite clearly. Its main trend is a line of accelerated development in production specialization

and cooperation, direct relations among enterprises, the creation of joint industrial and scientific and technical enterprises and associations, and restructuring the mechanism for the management of economic relations. The 43rd CEMA session, which was recently held in Moscow, was an important step in solving such problems.

Actually, this does not mean in the least that everything is clear, that all problems have been solved and that all that remains is to implement the program. Actually, we must organize joint work, including work on the theoretical level, in order to clarify a number of new and difficult problems.

Above all, in the overall context of the new political thinking, the profound interpretation of global socialism as a social phenomenon and of the processes and forms within which it develops, and the concepts through which it is described are especially important. This is by no means an abstract problem which could be reduced to any kind of specific definition but a problem of a profound theoretical and political nature which must be brought to light and studied.

It would be interesting to trace the evolution of our concepts on this matter. At first, when the revolution had won in a single country, the conviction prevailed that in the future federations of socialist republics would be created. After a group of young socialist countries appeared in the specific circumstances of postwar conditions, the concept of world socialism as a camp opposed to the hostile front of capitalist countries prevailed. This was justified in the period of sharp confrontation, when the interests of socialism had to be defended essentially through military-political and diplomatic means.

Subsequently, as socialism was consolidated in our countries and as relations developed among them, the limited nature of the concept of a "camp" became apparent and the concepts of "world socialist system" and, later, "socialist community," were introduced. However, even they do not reflect with absolute adequacy the entire set of relations among socialist countries and the richness and variety of socialism. For example, they exclude countries with a socialist orientation, with which we are closely cooperating. It is no accident that of late the purely descriptive term—the socialist world—has become increasingly popular.

Naturally, it is not a question of abandoning established concepts but of analyzing the processes governing the development of global socialism more extensively and profoundly, not on the basis of formal features but of their objective socioeconomic and political content.

The correlation between basic laws and national features in building socialism is a problem of exceptional political and theoretical importance. This problem has its history. At one point, acknowledging national features

was almost considered a deviation from Marxism-Leninism. Somewhat later, this problem began to be interpreted in the sense that national differences are inevitable and admissible at the early stages of building socialism but that they would be subsequently surmounted, smoothed over, and become part of the past. That is why most of the talk at that time was about the national features in building socialism rather than about socialism itself.

In reality, national characteristics are not something alien to and conflicting with socialism. The acknowledgment, consideration and utilization of the multiplicity of forms of national manifestations are the strength of socialism, the confirmation of its universal nature and an enrichment of the socialist idea itself. "Unity in the basic features, in the essential," Lenin wrote, "is not violated but secured through a **variety** of details, local features and ways of **approaching** the matter...." (op. cit., vol 35, p 203). It is important, naturally, in such a case for national features not to be absolutized or interpreted as the fundamentals of socialism.

In his speech at the October ceremonies, M.S. Gorbachev noted that the new system is displaying today the entire wealth of national and social varieties and originality inherent in each country and nation. The time is past when unity was frequently identified with similarity and successes were gauged by the degree of their uniformity. One cannot structure a policy without taking into consideration the interests of other countries or finding common solutions. Naturally, the nature of the economic and sociopolitical system of the socialist countries, unlike capitalism, offers a firm foundation for combining interests. However, this is not achieved automatically but as a result of reciprocal coordination.

Economic relations are particularly difficult. In this case Marxism faces a true plethora of problems, the scientific development of which is of prime importance in terms of practical work. This applies, for example, to the question of organizing a uniform socialist market, i.e., the natural area in which, as Marx said, the social exchange of labor products takes place. Progress in this area, obviously, will take a certain time and will require a substantial development of the entire economic mechanism, including commodity-monetary relations. We must unravel the tangle of monetary-financial problems, promote mutual interest in the problem of price setting, encourage contractual prices and more daringly prepare conditions for adopting to a mutually convertible currency.

In short, the prospects of socialism and its potential as a social and global system are tremendous and truly inexhaustible. Essentially, we are at the initial stage in discovering the possibilities of socialism. Such discovery and reliance on it would enable us successfully to solve any problem.

Today history is challenging all mankind. Capitalism is answering the challenge in its own way, through the development of individualism, asserting the right of the strong and introducing more refined forms of exploitation of man by man and of one nation by another. Socialism is offering an essentially different answer to the challenge of the time, formulating its own alternative aimed at ensuring the humanistic solution of the problems of the epoch of the scientific and technical revolution and the nuclear age.

III

The concept of "global problems" was given citizenship rights in recent years and has sunk firm roots in the international vocabulary and global politics. This is a sign of the times, confirming the interdependence of our world. In terms of their nature, global problems may vary, ranging from the threat of nuclear self-destruction to the danger of an ecological catastrophe and from eliminating the growing polarization of the world between "rich" and "poor" nations to the possibility of the exhaustion of old and the need to look for new sources of energy.

All specific differences notwithstanding, global problems have a great deal in common. This applies above all to the main idea, the idea of the survival of mankind, all of mankind and not part of it, as has frequently been the case in world history which remembers the vestiges of lost civilizations in various ends of the world. These problems are united also by the fact that they come together at the point where scientific and technical, socioeconomic and moral-ethical factors intersect. On the philosophical level their very appearance is the result of the faster development of scientific and technical compared with social and moral progress.

Finally, they come together also driven by the need for a joint solution, imbued with the spirit of interaction. The reason is not only because alone it is simply impossible to accomplish this but also because the approach to such problems from egotistical and narrowly conceived national or class positions would lead nowhere and may trigger irreparable consequences.

The role of all such problems in the life of mankind is increasing steadily. The main and most urgent among them is the **safeguard of peace and prevention of a nuclear cataclysm**. Should mankind prove able to solve it, it will also gain a serious opportunity of solving the other problems and creating a qualitatively new, a safe world.

In this sense the meeting between the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and the U.S. President, the December 1987 Soviet-American Summit, is of truly historical significance. This meeting, the third in recent years, had special features. Whereas Geneva was a kind of comparison between the positions of the different sides, which led to the joint conclusion that a nuclear war

should never be unleashed, and whereas Reykjavik provided the possibility of a breakthrough leading to a nuclear-free world, the December meeting marked the first real step to such a world. The accords and agreements which resulted from it exceed in terms of terms of their significance the range of their specific parameters. For the first time in the 40 years of the nuclear age an agreement was reached not merely on limiting but also reducing nuclear arsenals and eliminating two types of such armaments. The first breakthrough was made in the seemingly insurmountable wall of nuclear confrontation. The clock of history began to mark a new time—a movement toward a nuclear-free world.

By this token the idea of building such a world, formulated by the Soviet Union, occasionally interpreted by the West as utopia, gains real grounds; for if an initial step toward a world without nuclear weapons is possible, so would be a second and a third. A solid foundation is being laid under the concept developed by the socialist countries of a comprehensive system of international security, the pivot of which is the elimination of mass destruction weapons. Finally, the Washington accords are an important stage in the overall de-escalation of international tension and of improvements in the international climate.

Naturally, the first step is always difficult for the simple reason that it is unprecedented. However, we have no illusions. Subsequent progress toward a nuclear-free world will develop as well in the course of sharp confrontation with forces which have adopted the credo of the concept of nuclear containment, whether from strictly material considerations or reasons of "power-policy" thinking.

New problems become visible through the "window" opening on a nuclear-free world, including some of a theoretical nature, which in the past could not be depicted so clearly and could have been somehow postponed "for later." For example, does such a nuclear-free world of the future mean a simple return to the "prenuclear" past to which Clausewitz's refers? Considering the contemporary types of nonnuclear weapons, could a war help to attain a political objective and not result in mutual destruction? Our position is simple: it cannot. This is in fact the basis for the practical conclusions in favor of restrain and self-restrain in armaments, and the rejection of any sort of efforts to use armed forces for aggressive purposes.

What kind of mechanism could be put in motion if agreements on the elimination of nuclear weapons are violated and if efforts are made at encouraging nuclear and even nonnuclear "piracy," blackmail and threat of use of armed forces? Actually, this is the most sensitive area of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world. One thing is unquestionable: all steps should be coordinated and taken collectively. It becomes necessary to erect international obstacles which would prevent the use of science for purposes considered threatening to mankind.

Disarmament can be justifiably described as one of the cornerstones of the future world. Another one would be **the problem of the development of countries liberated from colonial dependence**. In this respect as well the October Revolution had its weighty say. Some of its ideas included the right of nations to self-determination, the need to halt imperialist plunder, and the organization of trade between developed and developing countries on an equitable basis. All of them have preserved their permanent significance.

However, the October Revolution is not only the primogenitor of new ideas but also of new practices in relations with developing countries, for in its relations with Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan, for example, the young Soviet state, which gave them selfless aid, proved in fact the manner in which equal relations can be structured, and removed much of the heavy burden inherited from the past.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the ideas and practices of the October Revolution provided an impetus for the subsequent erosion and elimination of the colonial system. The contemporary political map of the world is no longer colored in the hues of a handful of countries which had divided entire continents among themselves. One of the great realities of our time is the fact that more than 100 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have entered the international arena and taken the path independent development. This is a many-faceted world of countries with different ways of development and ways of life.

We can single in it countries which have chosen socialism as their guideline, which confirms the fruitfulness of Lenin's prediction of a possible noncapitalist development of countries liberated from imperialism. However, it would be an error to depict this path as a cloudless forward movement, to ignore the refined tactics of imperialism, aimed at undermining such countries, or failure to see their objective and subjective difficulties. For a socialist orientation was selected by some of the least developed countries, which had virtually no "domestic" capitalism. It was actually this that facilitated their separation from the capitalist system but which also hinders their further progress. We believe that the progress achieved by countries with a socialist orientation is largely related also both to their own efforts and to the future possibility of a general leap forward of world socialism.

Most liberated countries found themselves integrated within the global capitalist economy. However, even they are not alike. Some of them are approaching the level of modern industrial states. Others chose the path of heightened religious fundamentalism, a path which is unpredictable and unclear in terms of possible results. Finally, others again have essentially not come out as yet from the stage of patriarchal and tribal relations.

Despite great differences, all of these countries share something in common. Politically, as a rule they operate on the basis of independent positions which by no means always coincide with those of the leading capitalist countries. Economic and political interests force them to encourage mutual rapprochement, based on their own vision of the world. This, however, does not exclude contradictions, some of which may be deep. Exacerbated by imperialism, they occasionally break out into sharp conflicts. Nor should we try to draw an analogy between the Western imperialist countries and the new industrial countries of the developing south. Despite all the successes achieved by the latter, unquestionable though they might be, this is peripheral capitalism subject to the deadly grip of multinational corporations.

The gap between the developed capitalist north and the developing south is widening. An equally wide gap exists among the incomes earned by such groups of countries. The funds of the south continue to be siphoned out, despite the burden of a huge foreign debt which has reached \$1 trillion. This situation is fraught with the threat of an explosion on a scale the consequences of which would be difficult to predict given in today's interconnected world.

The problem of underdevelopment has become worldwide. Mankind has no secure future without solving it, without eliminating the hunger, poverty, disease and illiteracy of hundreds of millions of people. We are fully on the side of nations struggling for their national independence and economic development, and are giving them all possible aid. At the same time, we favor a search for global solutions to the common problems pertaining to that part of the world.

Marxist philosophy, as well as progressive and creative thinking in developing and developed capitalist countries must formulate real ways for the creation of a new international economic order. Its basic features are obvious. They involve excluding methods of economic aggression, such as the use or threat of embargoes, boycotts and trade, credit and technological blockades; respecting the rights of all nations to handle their own resources and to maintain trade relations free from discrimination; establishing an equitable and economically substantiated ratio of prices for raw materials and food and industrial commodities; streamlining monetary relations, eliminating high interest rates and preventing the use of foreign debts as a pretext for interfering in domestic affairs.

Naturally, the following question arises: Is it possible, in general, to structure international economic relations on a more equitable, more democratic basis while the world capitalist economy exists? A great deal here depends on the ability of realistically thinking Western circles not to heat up the situation to a point of explosion and not to aggravate contradictions to the critical point at which the

situation becomes irreversible. The main thing, naturally, is the active stance and combined efforts of developing countries, world socialism and all progressive forces of the contemporary world in the struggle for a new economic order and economic security.

The global nature of the problems which are facing the world today also presumes a new approach to the **moral-ethical and spiritual factor** in international affairs and in the life of the global community as a whole. Here as well socialism has something to bank on in its scientific-theoretical legacy. Suffice it to recall Marx's familiar words of "seeing to it that the simple laws of morality and justice, by which individuals must be guided in their interrelationships, to become the supreme laws of relations among nations" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "*Soch.*", vol 16, p 11).

The word "must" used by Marx was not accidental. In the course of thousands of years of fierce struggle among classes, clans and nations, the basic standards of morality found themselves pushed aside to the edge of human consciousness. In a world divided by hostility and hatred, a morality consistent with the logic of this struggle predominated, not uniting but dividing society.

In our days, however, when the world continues to be socially divided, the survival not of an individual class or individual nation but of mankind as a whole dictates, regardless of anyone's egotistical interests, the need to be guided by the universal "laws of morality and justice." The obsolete means governing international relations, such as tricking someone, concealing something and somehow sneaking around the other side or, even worse, to pressing the other side into a corner, have become deadly dangerous. We must not use maxims such as "he who is not with us is against us" and simply classify the world as "black" and "white," and "good" and "evil."

Reciprocal trust and the honest and firm observance of agreements, rejection of the use of violence against any nation, and respect for the uniqueness of each nation and individual become today an urgent necessity in international relations. It is very important that it is precisely socialism that acts as their supporter and flag bearer.

IV

The important conclusion which stems from the assessment of the current situation in the world as a whole and its socioeconomic systems is the following: despite the entire difficulty of the situation in which mankind finds itself by the end of the millennium, the real possibility exists of surmounting the difficulties which have appeared, to preserve civilization and to take it to an even higher qualitative level. However, the successful solution of this historical problem will depend on the subjective factor, on the existence and readiness of social forces which are capable of assuming the burden of unprecedented decisions and most responsible actions.

In this respect, the founders of Marxism have left us an outstanding tradition. They insisted on taking their study of conditions and prospects of social development to the point of indicating the type of class or social stratum which could be a booster of history at the given stage. The central idea of the Communist Party Manifesto, as of the entire theory of scientific communism, is that of the revolutionary role of the proletariat, called upon to fulfill the function of a vanguard in the struggle for the establishment of socialism.

It was Lenin who provided a profound and accurate analysis of the social situation and the deployment of forces on the eve of the October Revolution. Otherwise, the victory of the revolution would have been impossible. The working class headed the building of socialism in the USSR and in other countries. It is fulfilling a vanguard role in Soviet society today as well, during the stage of restructuring.

For decades debates have been going on, on whether or not the contemporary working class would retain its revolutionary potential. Some say that in the developed capitalist countries this class has become bourgeoisified to a significant extent, that it has dissolved in the middle classes, for which reason, allegedly, the troublemakers, the promoters of revolutionary change are now the intelligentsia and the youth. Others believe that as a result of the scientific and technical revolution the working class should abandon the historical arena in general, for the functions of tuning and controlling the operation of contemporary machine systems will be performed by "white-collar workers."

Without joining in the discussion of such problems now, let us merely emphasize the futility of efforts to abandon the main Marxist concept, that of the radical contradiction between labor and capital. Whatever changes may take place in the social environment under the influence of the development of production forces, it is clear that no one can ever equate the owner of the means of production with hired labor. If such is the case, the conclusion of the inevitability of the struggle for the liberation of labor from exploitation and the assertion of social justice remains valid.

The working class remains the main force of social development. Nonetheless, the scale, volume and, above all, the global, the universal nature of many decisive features of contemporary social progress predetermine a considerable broadening of the forces which can and must become involved in solving pressing historical problems.

I shall not attempt a full discussion of this important and major problem but would like to single out some of its aspects.

The prevention of nuclear or ecological catastrophe and of possible cataclysms caused by the widening gap between economically developed and developing countries and the solution of other similar problems cannot be the exclusively concern of the traditional alliance between the working class and the peasantry or with the progressive intelligentsia, allied with them, but of a great variety of strata and groups interested in the survival of mankind.

Great efforts have been made to define the alliance among such social forces. Naturally, this is not a matter of a more or less apt definition but of a profound study of the foundations, of the forms which would make interaction within this broad social alliance possible, for it is the only factor capable of undertaking to solve the problems which face the nations today.

Inseparably linked to this, is another aspect of the problem. In our time social movements are increasingly acting not spontaneously but primarily on an organized basis. Hence the prime significance of cooperation among political trends which represent them. A coalition of social movements rallied around one such problem or another could include liberals, Christian democrats, representatives of the business world and the intellectual elite. The main center of gravity, however, remain the left forces. In order to establish true interaction among them, it is important to develop a new style, a new standard of interrelationships. This must be a style which stipulates a comparison of views, discussions, and dialogues, based on mutual respect and rejection of the arrogance of omniscience; a style which would abandon the old habit of rejecting out of hand the viewpoint of the other side and would be characterized by the desire to understand one's opponent.

In his speech at the meeting of representatives of parties and movements, which took place in Moscow in November 1987, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized our readiness to develop further our cooperation with socialists, social democrats, revolutionary democrats and other leftist forces. This position, as the meeting indicated, is shared by the communist and worker parties throughout the world. We can daringly say that whereas in the past a sectarian approach was occasionally manifested, today recurrences of the infant "leftist" disease in communism are being encountered less and less frequently. What is more relevant today is the need for some social democratic circles to abandon that which, by analogy, could be described as the "right-wing" disease—a feeling of caution toward constructive cooperation with communist forces on topical problems of national and international life.

Actually, as the international labor movement develops, conditions arise for a gradual establishment of a dialogue and cooperation between communists and social democrats, without any one of these political trends losing its autonomy and originality. One of the important sectors

in which such joint work is entirely possible and necessary is the theoretical study of reality, forecasting possible ways of development and drawing the attention of the broad international public to pressing problems.

Naturally, differences in outlook remain and should not be ignored. This limits somewhat the possibility of interaction. However, no one has suggested that some kind of joint organizations be set up. It is a question of joint actions on problems on which a common approach exists and of the fact that the number of such problems has increased sharply. All it takes is to sit down together to realize that the area of common interests is much broader than was previously assumed. It is only the practical involvement in live action that could eliminate prejudices and lead to greater mutual understanding.

The main significance of the Moscow international meeting was precisely that it confirmed this truth. This meeting was unique in terms of the scope and range of representation of various forces in the left range of the spectrum. It was unique also in terms of the organic link between the traditions of the worker and the entire anti-imperialist movement with the innovative formulation of topical problems of our time. It was also unique in terms of the atmosphere which prevailed at the meeting, which was democratic, open and well-wishing.

As was emphasized at the conclusion of the meeting, no one lost but, conversely, everyone benefited from it. Despite all differences in views and evaluations, its participants confirmed the general aspiration to safeguard peace and the need to engage in joint action for the sake of its preservation. It could be said that the results of the meeting also define the outlines of a common platform shared by international leftist forces. Its pivot is the new style of political thinking and ensuring the survival of mankind, eliminating backwardness and the division between "poor" and "rich" nations, respecting the right of each nation to choose its own way and adoption of a concerned attitude for the earth and its bounties, for our common home.

The communist movement has made a tremendous, an invaluable contribution to the progressive development of the world. It proved its viability and is acting today as an independent and established element in world politics. Its existence is consistent with the objective needs of social development and not the result of "purely" political will. However, like any other living organism, the communist movement needs renovation. This need is felt particularly sharply today, at the turning point, at the crossing point reached in world progress.

As an inseparable part of the international communist movement, the CPSU tries to interpret its own role and position in the contemporary rapidly changing world. This effort coincides with the one made by the other fraternal parties. It is a question above all of formulating progress, ways of action and slogans that are consistent with the realities of the end of the 20th century, whether

this applies to the nature and consequences of the scientific and technical revolution, the possibility of the further adaptation of the capitalist society and its institutions to the new situation, the way of development of contemporary socialism, the economic and social processes occurring in the Third World, or the ecological cost of social progress. A search is under way for organically combining traditional class and national with universal and international tasks.

The more extensively these complex problems can be solved, the greater will be the chances that in the immediate future the communist parties will be able to strengthen their political influence and, consequently, to make an increasing contribution to the common cause of progressive forces. If not publicly, in the press, in the course of comradely meetings and talks among communists, the question of interaction among fraternal parties is a steady topic of discussion. We know the difficulties which have appeared in this matter. A certain caution and restraint were the consequences of previously allowed violations of the principles governing relations among parties. Today all of this belongs to the past. And, in our view, nothing should prevent communists from exchanging practical experience, closely cooperating in the discussion of topical problems of contemporary policy and advancing through joint efforts the theory of scientific socialism.

Comradely discussions in the course of which no one lays a claim to the monopoly on truth, objectively contribute to turning the communist movement toward a rapprochement among the parties. Favorable conditions are being created for enriching the content and ways and means of activity of the communist movement in the spirit of the new thinking, reinterpreting the ways of its further development at the present stage and its place and role in the global liberation struggle and the solution of mankind's problems.

Mankind is at a turning point. Its ability to cross the present important sector in its history will largely depend on the joint efforts of all leftists, of all peace-loving forces. The CPSU is convinced socialism and its ability fully to bring to light its possibilities and reach new heights play a tremendous role in this connection. The Soviet communists consider the achievement of these objectives proof of their loyalty to the traditions of the October Revolution and their duty to the present and future generations.

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Turning to the Sources; Friedrich Engels on Intraparty Democracy

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[Article by Rem Naumovich Blyum, professor, department of philosophy, Tartu State University, doctor of philosophical sciences]

[Text] The process of democratization has become a key aspect in the struggle for the revolutionary renovation of our life. The elimination of stagnation phenomena and the success of the initiated restructuring would be simply inconceivable without the further intensification of democracy, the involvement of the broad masses in the solution of all problems in the country, establishing forms of social self-government and self-control and the development of criticism and glasnost.

That is why today we need so greatly a science of democracy, including intraparty democracy. Its laws and principles must be mastered by all Soviet people, the party members above all. Many valuable lessons relevant in terms of topical tasks may be found in the theoretical legacy of the founders of our great revolutionary doctrine.

K. Marx and F. Engels did not especially engage in the comprehensive elaboration of problems of intraparty activity by communists. This is understandable. In the stormy events of the 1848-1849 revolution, the Alliance of Communists, which was founded on their initiative, was not scheduled to play the role of a truly influential organization. Despite the full importance of its activities, the First International was a "center of relations and cooperation," an "association of workers" and not a party. As to the social democratic parties, they appeared and became active as independent organizations of the working class only toward the end of Marx's and Engels' lifetime. Furthermore, the activities of the majority of such parties took place over a considerable period of time, under the very specific conditions of their clandestine or semi-clandestine status.

Essentially it is only in the last 5 years of his life that Engels had the opportunity to see the German Social Democratic Party truly take off, a party which, as time went on, became the leading force of the international labor movement of that time. However, even such a short period of relatively free activity by the German social democrats provided Engels with rich data for thoughts on the ways, means and mechanisms of the functioning of a mass party of the working class and on creating within it conditions which would make the implementation of the Marxist principles of self-change, enhancement and socialist upbringing of the broad party masses and making them the true masters of their organization possible.

In the case of people with social and humanistic thoughts such as those of Marx and Engels, support of democracy as the fundamental principle of free human activities and disgust for any aspect of officialdom and authoritarianism and total incompatibility between one's life stance and any kind of cult of personality were as natural as a feeling of human dignity and respect for freedom. Suffice it to say that, as Marx himself admitted, the fact that he and Engels joined the ranks of the secret communist society "took place with the mandatory stipulation that anything which helps the sovereign veneration

of authority will be mandatorily expunged from its statutes...." (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Soch.*, vol 34, p 241; subsequent references to their works will indicate volume and page only). From their viewpoint, even the work of a clandestine party or a clandestine association should, whenever possible, be based on electiveness, collective discussion and strict control over its officials. Thus, the charter of the Association of Communists, signed by Engels, read: "The members of district committees and of the Central Committee will be elected for a term of 1 year. They have the right to be re-elected and may be replaced by their electorate at all times" (vol 4, p 526). A special article in the charter dealt with the procedure for holding debates.

Engels strictly distinguished between the activities of a party operating under clandestine conditions, in the period of a "military" struggle against a despotic government, or operating under legal conditions. In the former case necessarily intraparty democracy had to be restricted. Subsequently as well, during the period of the creation and strengthening of the Bolshevik Party, noting the inevitable need to restrict democracy in a party operating under profoundly clandestine conditions, V.I. Lenin nonetheless emphasized the need for maximally possible openness. "Actually, it is time," he wrote in 1903, "firmly to reject the tradition of sectarian clickishness and, in a party which is based on the masses, to raise the firm slogan of **more light**, and of letting the party know **everything**..." (*Poln. Sobr. Soch.*, [Complete Collected Works], vol 8, p 94). Even under conditions of clandestinity and strict secrecy, Lenin did not consider the party a secret "order," similar to the Nechayev organization, but a combat organization of the proletariat, its vanguard closely linked with the masses.

Inevitably, the problem of centralism is bound to assume priority in a clandestine organization. In a number of parties working underground it is particularly important not to allow political actions which threaten to subvert party discipline and unity. Such actions are promoted by the class enemy and, under such circumstances, ideological and political struggle against them is a means of the self-preservation of the organization. It is entirely natural, therefore, that the leadership of a clandestine party gives priority to waging a decisive struggle for firm unity within its ranks. Here is what Engels wrote on the subject: "...The blanket exclusion of opposition within a party indeed took place in the secret societies between 1840 and 1851: the secrecy of the organization made such expulsion inevitable. Furthermore, it took place quite frequently among the British Chartists, the supporters of physical force, under O'Connor's dictatorship. However, the Chartists were a party organized for mounting direct attacks, as the very name of the party indicates, for which reason they accepted a dictatorship and the military steps they took were an exception" (vol 37, p 276).

As a rule, when a party becomes legal, the extreme situations which, under clandestine conditions, demand

of the party of the working class restrictions of democracy for the sake of preserving the possibility of continuing the struggle for achieving the end objectives, disappear. A party which has become legal obtains the possibility of functioning as a self-organizing democratic institution, the very existence, successful activities and development of which depend on the activeness of a maximal number of party members.

Having secured normal working conditions, the party naturally tries to become a widespread organization relying on the masses. "In a party followed by millions of people, discipline becomes entirely different from what it is in a sect with a few hundred members" (vol 38, p 381). Under such circumstances, intraparty democracy is necessary above all because without it the party members, the young above all, cannot develop into active and independent fighters for the party objectives. Let us turn to Engels again: "The party is so great," he pointed out, "that absolute freedom of exchange of views within it is a necessity. Otherwise one can simply not assimilate and raise the numerous new elements which have joined the party in the past 3 years; some of them are entirely green, raw material. We must not drill knowledge into the new reinforcement, as we do with school children; in this case we need discussions and even a certain amount of brawl, which would be useful at first" (vol 37, p 373).

Engels consistently pursued the line of developing democratic principles within the labor movement in the First International. One of the main areas of activities of the founders of Marxism in the first international organization of workers was the struggle against sectarianism and secret societies, for such type of associations, as Marx said, "hinder the development of the proletarian movement, for instead of educating the workers such societies force them to obey coercive and mystical laws which hinder their independence and cloud their minds" (vol 17, p 652). Engels entirely supported these views. He wrote that without freedom of the press, without the right to freedom of assembly, the labor movement cannot exist, for "without such freedoms the labor party itself cannot have freedom of movement; as it struggles for it, it struggles for conditions ensuring its own existence, for the air which it needs to breathe." (vol 16, p 78). For that reason Marx and Engels actively insisted that the International Association of Workers be managed "on the basis of democratic principles" (vol 44, p 561), granting "the greatest possible freedom for local autonomy and independence" (*Ibid.*, p 544).

The ideas which Engels discussed in his time in terms of the experience in the struggle and party building within the German Social Democratic Party at the end of the 19th century remains relevant to this day. In general, a haughty, arrogant scorn toward experience acquired by their predecessors in the struggle for social progress, in whatever country they may have been operating, is alien to bolsheviks-Leninists. We know that in creating a party of a new type Lenin always considered the various

aspects of direct revolutionary practice of the working class and its parties in different countries and analyzed the political experience of the European social democrats. In discussing the activities of the German social democrats, in 1918 he said: "From 1871 to 1914, for nearly half-a-century, the German working class was a model of socialist organization for the rest of the world" (V.I. Lenin, op cit., vol 36, p 461). The impressive successes achieved by the German social democrats at that time were unquestionably due to a large extent to the fact that they adopted many, albeit by no means all, of Engels' instructions and advice.

For familiar reasons, for a long time Engels' theoretical legacy, which deals with problems of intraparty democracy, was shunned in our country. Nonetheless, the processes of democratization, which are now developing in our party and country as a whole, demand of the modern generations of party members the closest possible study and the creative mastery of Engels' advice and recommendations, naturally taking into consideration the new realities which have developed over the past 100 years.

For a variety of reasons, a substantial share of CPSU members, unfortunately, have an inadequate concept of the democratic mechanisms within the party. They have mastered them poorly and have not adopted to a proper extent standard intraparty democratic procedures. In a number of decisive units, for awhile, as we know, an authoritarian command work style and power hierarchy dominated, imposing themselves as a virtually mandatory element of behavior of reverence not only of the leading units but of any official on the rayon or city level. Reverence and authoritarianism began to be mistaken for authority. Such a style is totally alien to the democratic nature of a Marxist party and to the traditions and principles of bolshevism as laid down by Lenin. It is inadmissible under the conditions of an independent organization based on socialist and democratic principles. This is what Engels pointed out in his letter to K. Kautsky, dated 11 February 1891: "It is also necessary, once and for all, for the people to stop turning to the party officials—to their own servants—with an attitude of constant excessive consideration and, instead of criticizing them, most obediently follow their orders as unerring bureaucrats" (vol 38, p 29).

Any viable organization oriented toward development and improvement, innovation and creativity, i.e., anything encompassed within the broad concept of "productivity" (as distinct from "reproduction"—which is an ordinary preprogrammed activity), cannot exist without freedom of speech, discussion and criticism. The demand for productivity and its typical feature of criticality stem from the very nature of the Marxist dialectical method. In the words of Marx, its dialectics "considers each existing form in its dynamics and, consequently, even from the viewpoint of its transitional aspect. It does not venerate anything and, by its very nature, is critical and revolutionary" (vol 23, p 22). The fact that the

founders of scientific socialism unquestionably considered this aspect of their method as determining was repeatedly emphasized by both Engels and Lenin (see vol 21, p 276; V.I. Lenin, op cit., vol 1, p 340).

Revolutionary criticism is aimed at the deep foundations of the existing order, for which reason it must be merciless. "Mercilessness is the first condition of any criticism" (vol 34, p 40), Marx noted. Naturally, this means mercilessness not in terms of form but, above all, of essence, the tendency, the aspiration to bring to light the most important reasons for any possible stagnation, independent of any predetermined step. Such criticism has nothing nor could have anything in common with abuse and Marx directly opposed criticism shaped as abuse to criticism of reality (see Ibid., p 41).

The view of unity without variety and reducing it to the uniformity of thought, to single-mindedness, essentially creates the danger of the inevitable appearance of stagnation trends in party life, which hinder the party's functions as an active and steadily developing organization. The absolutization of uniformity and the mechanical and dogmatic adoption of the features and slogans of one historical stage in a different one are a gross violation of the principle that truth must be specific.

Let us note in this connection that the familiar resolution on party unity, which was adopted on Lenin's initiative at the 10th RKP(b) Congress did not have in the least that one-sided, absolute and repressive nature which was ascribed to it subsequently, in Stalin's interpretations. Its proper evaluation must take into consideration the exceptional, the extreme war-time conditions in which the party found itself when it passed that resolution. At that time absolutely everything in the country was hanging on a thread. This is first. Second, Lenin was quite concerned by the fact that "the party's proletarian policy is determined not by its structure but by the tremendous and undivided authority of the very thin stratum which could be described as the old party guard. Even a minor internal skirmish in this stratum would if not undermine its authority in any case weaken it to such an extent that the resolution of such a skirmish would no longer depend on it" (V.I. Lenin, op cit., vol 45, p 20). Third, the congress' documents most clearly indicate that Lenin did not even conceive of forbidding real freedom of speech, the freedom of debate and the active and alternating discussion of basic problems of party policy. The first draft of the resolution on party unity he wrote noted that "...the party will tirelessly continue to test new means and struggle in all possible ways against bureaucratism and for the broadening of democracy and autonomy, for identifying, exposing and expelling those who sneak into the party, etc." (Ibid., vol 43, p 92).

This is stipulated in paragraph 19 of the resolution "On Problems of Party Building," which was adopted at the 10th RKP(b) Congress: "The work methods are, above all, those of extensive discussions of all most important

problems and debates on such problems, with full freedom of intraparty criticism and means of collective formulation of general party decisions before general mandatory party decisions have been made on such problems" (*KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh Syezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK* [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences and Central Committee Plenums]. Ninth edition, vol 2, p 327). Lenin's attitude toward the problem was displayed even more clearly when at that same congress when he **especially** opposed an amendment to Ryazanov's statement, who deemed necessary to ban congressional elections based on platforms. Here are Lenin's entirely unequivocal words on the subject: "We cannot deprive the party and the members of the Central Committee of the right to address themselves to the party if a problem triggers basic disagreements.... However, our resolution stipulates that there will be no elections based on platforms. I believe that we cannot forbid this. If our resolution on unity and, naturally, on the development of the revolution can unite us, elections based on platforms will not occur again. The lesson we learned at this congress will not be forgotten. Should circumstances trigger basic differences, could we ban submitting them to the judgment of the entire party? We cannot! This is an excessive wish which cannot be met and I motion that it be rejected" (V.I. Lenin, op cit., vol 43, p 112). This is stated quite clearly.

Essentially, Lenin's stance embodied the same idea he had expressed as early as November 1906: "Our definition is **unity of action and freedom of discussion and criticism**. It is only such a discipline that is worthy of the democratic party of the progressive class. The power of the working class rests in its organization. Without the organization of the masses the proletariat is nothing. The organized proletariat is everything. Organization means unity of action and unity of practical activity." He further said: "...Without freedom of discussion and criticism the proletariat cannot acknowledge any unity of action" (Ibid., vol 14, p 125-126).

Nor did Engels have any doubts concerning the freedom of intraparty criticism: "The labor movement," he wrote, "is based on the sharpest possible criticism of existing society; criticism is its vital element and how can it avoid criticism itself if it tries to ban arguments? Are we demanding of others to give us the freedom of speech strictly for ourselves, in order to eliminate it within our own ranks?" (vol 37, p 277). To the contrary, criticism and self-criticism become even more necessary and vitally important to the ruling party. They are its main weapon in the struggle against shortcomings and omissions and a constant form of self-control over its own activities and relations with the working people, which enable it soberly to assess achievements, clearly see what should be corrected and where, and so on. Such was precisely the principle-minded concept voiced at the 27th CPSU Congress.

Naturally, successful party activities are impossible without unity. Furthermore, they are impossible without

unity of thought concerning the basic system of values and fundamental theoretical principles. This unity, however, as indicated by the entire spirit of the Marxist doctrine, can avoid stagnation only if it is a live unity, a flexible unity, steadily developing itself, the unity of creative thoughts and not of mindless obedience.

Yet another important circumstance must be taken into consideration. The labor movement, guided by Marxism, has the right to consider itself scientific. But science, and to Engels this was an unquestionable truth, cannot develop without free discussion and debate, without the freedom of criticism. Science is democratic in nature. "You, the party," he wrote to A. Bebel, "**need** socialist science which cannot exist without the freedom of development. At this point you must tolerate any kind of unpleasantness and the best thing is to do this with dignity, without stress" (vol 38, p 77).

Engels believed that the party cannot exist without the presence of various shades of opinion within it. It is necessary to avoid, he emphasized, "even the **appearance** of dictatorship, like the Swiss" (vol 37, p 374). Returning to the same thought, in his 10 August 1890 letter to W. Liebknecht, he noted even more clearly the following: "Do not create martyrs unnecessarily; prove that you have freedom of criticism and if someone must be expelled, do it only in the case of 'open action,' on the basis of clear and totally provable **facts** of baseness and treason!" (Ibid., p 379).

Let us note Engels' consideration on the role of the press in the development of intraparty democracy. In his letter to Bebel he pointed out that the party of the working class should have a "press which has the opportunity **within the framework** of the program and the adopted tactic freely to oppose one step or another taken by the party and also, without overstepping the boundaries of party ethics, to subject to free criticism both program and tactic. You, on the Board, must encourage such a press and even create it; you would thus have a greater moral influence on it..." (vol 38, p 442).

Such a press, which would be a party press in the full meaning of the term and, at the same time, would be independent of circumstances or anyone's whims, could keep under its critical control all party matters, ensure the observance of party norms by all party members, and be an efficient instrument of openness and development of intraparty democracy and, at the same time, an antidote to any cult phenomena or personal ambitions. The implementation of such recommendations formulated by Engels is of relevance in promoting the comprehensive democratization of the party, for any restrictions or exceptions to the democratic process question the process itself.

It is noteworthy that the thought of the need for a control mechanism on the part of the party masses is found also in Lenin's work "What Is to Be Done?" In considering the situation of a country living under conditions of

democracy and political freedom, in which "the entire political arena is open to all, like the proscenium is to the theater public," Lenin notes that under such circumstances "everyone knows the way a certain political personality began his career, changed, proved himself in handling difficulties and, in general, is distinguished by some specific qualities, for which reason, naturally, such a person could be chosen or not chosen for a certain party position knowledgeably, by all members of the party.... 'A natural selection,' and total openness, electiveness and universal control ensure the fact that, in the final account, such a personality finds himself 'in his proper place,' and is chosen to deal with matters most consistent with his powers and abilities, experiences personally all consequences of his errors and proves publicly his entire capability to acknowledge errors and to avoid them" (V.I. Lenin, op cit., vol 6, p 139).

Also exceptionally relevant today is Engels' remark on the importance of criticizing previous party experience and using it as a lesson for the present and the future. "I believe it absolutely necessary," he wrote, "for the party...to criticize its past activities and thus to learn how to act better" (vol 38, p 436). In Engels' opinion, such criticism should have no restrictions. No ban could be imposed on any area of previous party activities.

Any aspect of previous activities or reference to previous decisions made on the highest party levels should not be an obstacle to critical discussion or condemnation. On that account Engels expressed himself quite unequivocally: "The decision made by a congress is no justification. If the party to this day considers itself bound by all congress decisions formulated during good times of peace, it ties its own hands. The legal grounds on which a live party struggles should not only be created by itself but could be changed at any moment.... The party...must find its own laws only within its own live and constantly changing needs. If it prefers to subordinate such needs to the old, already ossified and dead decisions, it digs its own grave" (vol 34, pp 330-331).

Also worth considering are the suggestions which Engels made of having in the party people "free from the influence of confusing local circumstances and isolated events in the practical struggle," people who can gauge "what took place and was said on the scale of the theoretical concepts which are pertinent to the contemporary proletarian movement in all countries," and can objectively evaluate the impression which party activities create abroad (Ibid., p 334). We believe that to this day this is one of the most important tasks of party ideological workers.

The situation today is substantially different from what it was not only 10-20 or 50-60 years ago but even only 2 to 3 years ago. Criticism from the outside, on the part of people who sincerely consider themselves Marxists or would like to be such, should not be accepted, as was the case in the past, with intolerance and suspicion. For there are many among our friends, those who have

criticized our errors and negative phenomena, who did this while aching and fearing for the fate of socialism in the contemporary world. Sensibly listening to the opinion not only of friends (this is unquestionable) but also of ideological opponents would be sensible, in order promptly to see and correct our own errors and undesirable trends.

The history of the international labor movement, which is rich in events, and the experience acquired in the political activities of parties in power naturally make their own corrections to the theoretical legacy of the founders of scientific socialism. What is unquestionable, however, is that Engels' thoughts on intraparty democracy sound amazingly fresh and provide a theoretical base for the solution of many practical problems of life today, above all in terms of the further democratization of socialist society and the work and life of the party itself.

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**Democratization of the Party Means
Democratization of Society; KOMMUNIST
Roundtable Meeting by Correspondence**
18020008c Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian
No 2, Jan 88 (signed to press 15 Jan 88) pp 26-30

[Text] In the last issue of this journal for 1987, we invited the elected party aktiv, personnel of the party apparatus, social scientists and all our readers, both party and nonparty members, to participate in a roundtable meeting; we suggested to them to voice their thoughts on a wide range of problems of party building and the further democratization of the party and society.

With the publication of some of the letters received by the editors we are continuing a discussion of these problems, initiated with a survey of the readers' mail on "Time for Concrete Action, Time for Concrete Responsibility" (KOMMUNIST, No 18, 1987, pp 34-43).

**U. Karimov, Party Veteran, Retired: "The Conscience
Must Not Remain Silent"**

At one point we, a group of veterans, visited one of the hostels of the Kirovskiy Zavod Association. The life of the boys there was boring. The place was dirty and substandard. They were forced to carry with them the handles of gas plates, to prevent others from filching them. Yet these are working people, fitters or carpenters. Their heads and their hands, as the saying goes, were in their proper place, yet they were unable to bring cleanliness and order in their own home. This does not affect their human dignity. They have become accustomed to it. How? I recall that at one point the hostel was visited by a representative commission headed by the general director. A large number of shortcomings were noted and

were suitably recorded. It was realized that the main trouble was that no one was responsible. The director made an deal with the residents: they would be given materials and would do the work themselves. Was that sensible? It was, but neither the general director nor his assistant found the necessary time to follow up the implementation of the plan and life in the hostels continues to be uncomfortable....

Occasionally we are willing to excuse a high official who has failed to keep his word to the collective or has been inattentive toward human needs: "He carries such heavy responsibility! He has so many important things to do! Let us not be petty." Yet there is a way of combining high responsibility with great rights and possibilities. It is the party, the human duty, the duty of the conscience of the manager to set a personal example to those around him with his attitude toward the people and his assignments.

How many times I have heard, and still do, appeals for people to become the masters of the production process! But let us be honest: the individual worker most frequently does not feel like one. This is not astounding. It is difficult, in the literal meaning of the term, to feel oneself the master of a giant such as the Kirov plant, for instance. Even psychologically this is too much. Obviously, such a problem should be approached step-by-step. I recall that such was the way we proceeded in the 1920s. We wrote in red letters on imported machine tools (at that time we had none of our own) the following: "Comrade! Take care of this tool. It cost 36,000 gold rubles." This worked.

I realize that today this may sound naive. I am convinced, however, that a worker will never feel himself the master of the entire public production process, or of his plant, unless he feels that he is the master of his machine tool which he handles on a daily basis. Why not, for example, assign on a cost accounting and contractual basis the entire set of machine tools at that same Kirov plant to the workers themselves? Why not give them the opportunity to earn substantial wage supplements for technically knowledgeable servicing of a machine tool for the entire term of its operation? We pay the driver of a truck for driving 100,000 or 200,000 kilometers without capital repairs! And we do benefit, not only materially but also morally, as we develop in the working person a conscientious attitude toward the people's property. In my view, conversion to the new economic management conditions (self-financing, self-support) offers in this case extensive opportunities, for the forms in which the contemporary principles of economic management are being implemented (collective and brigade contracting order) greatly change the nature of production relations and raise in a new and much more pressing way problems of morality, backing them, so to say, through economic means. I was saddened to read in the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the work of the Vyborgskiy Raykom in Leningrad, which was passed at

the end of last year, that, bypassing the primary organizations, the raykom settles many important problems. The same happens with us as well. The personnel of our Kirovskiy Raykom rarely visit one of the leading enterprises in Leningrad and the entire country. And if they do, they hurry to see the bosses, bypassing the shops and the work areas.

Our plant party committee has introduced the two-step system in party organization management. The workers call it a "two-story" building. The intention appeared good: to reach each individual party group. So far, however, in my view, as a result of such restructuring the party committees are duplicating the work of the head party committee. An excess of "paper" activity appears on top of what was already a great deal. In this connection would it not be useful to abandon unnecessary steps in the system of elected party authorities at large enterprises?

I am proud of the fact that at one point I became secretary of a party cell at the Krasnyy Putilovets, which is now the Kirovskiy Zavod Association and, particularly, the fact that Sergey Mironovich himself was one of our members. It is hurtful to realize that since the war no single secretary of the Kirovskiy Party Raykom has visited the shop which he visited so frequently and where he held long talks with the people standing by their machine tools. How to describe and how to cure this disease which afflicts a large number of our cadres? Perhaps it would be worth returning to the old standard of intraparty life: party committee secretaries from the rayon level and up should be made members of large production and labor collectives. At that point it would not be necessary for them to assign instructors to the plant to describe in their latest report examples "borrowed from life"...

N. Batalov, TYUMENSKAYA PRAVDA
correspondent: How to Treat Formalism?

Democracy is the best medicine for bureaucratism. For the time being, however, we are not applying it all that extensively and skillfully.

Let us consider the work style and methods of party committees. I have read hundreds of materials and have written dozens of articles criticizing formalism and excessive organization, which distinguish the plenums and meetings of the gorkom buro and other steps taken by committees on different levels. However, such critical doping is of short duration. After a while everything is business as usual. Speakers, whether assigned or volunteering, hasten to embellish their speech with ritual phrases such as "as the comrade secretary properly told us," and to support "their own" conclusions by making them agree with those of the first secretary. Informally, however, such a speaker would admit: "You know, I do not think this way at all. But, you understand, how can I oppose the first secretary?..."

"We are of a 'frightfully' revolutionary mind in all areas of social, economic and political relations. But when it comes to respect for rank and for observing forms and ceremonies in paperwork our 'revolutionism' regularly turns into stagnant routine. In this area we can frequently notice the most interesting phenomenon of the way in social life the greatest leap forward becomes combined with monstrous timidity in the face of even the slightest change." This is borrowed from Vladimir Ilich Lenin's article "Better Less but Better" (*Poln. Sobr. Soch.* [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, p 400).

What great troubles we have experienced simply because of our inability to reject the reflex of respect for rank, which is another derivate of bureaucratism and of the administrative-pressure management style. For example, as I read a newspaper report on a recent plenum held by the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, I could only think that the voice of the gorkom members who, judging by all I could see, had substantively criticized shortcomings and omissions in the work of the former first secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee, had done so with a considerable delay. This story makes us seriously think of the development of intraparty democracy.

The fear of losing one's position and a well-being honestly earned directly leads to the abandonment of principles. There is no justification for this particularly now, under the conditions of restructuring, when everyone of its participants needs political courage so urgently. It would be of little help if we keep only calling for the development of criticism and self-criticism and only speak of how this helps us to cure ambition, arrogance, conceit and arbitrariness. We must change the very style of our work and be concerned with eliminating the conditions in which such phenomena develop and bring results.

I cannot remember how frequently in recent years, attending in an official capacity, sessions of party committee buros, I have heard any buro member object to the first secretary and prove, with his behavior that it is not obedient performers who stand behind a desk, ready to nod their head in approval for any statement made by the chairman or to voice their agreement, but principled fighters for the cause of the party, with their own personality, willing and able to defend their own view. For it is only differences in viewpoints that could bring us closer to the truth and ensure the firm unity within our party ranks.

In all likelihood all participants in a discussion have their own views. Yet in frequent cases they are short of courage, for virtually everyone among those who sit behind that table feels that he depends on the "first." For it is no secret that in drawing up the list of candidates for elected party authorities and appointments to one position or another the view of the first secretary is quite decisive. Yet the gorkom and raykom buros are among the key units in the CPSU, the tremendous importance of which in terms of restructuring has been repeatedly

pointed out by the Central Committee. It is in such units that problems of vital importance to every party member and to the party in general are being solved, whether current tasks or long-term plans for the socioeconomic development of the city and the rayon, cadre shifts or considerations of individual cases.

In my view, the lack of democracy in the work of elected party authorities is due to the fact that for some time it is not people but positions that staff the buro. If someone is chairman of the people's control committee, he is a member of the buro. If someone is elected the head of the local Komsomol organization, he has a guaranteed position as a member of the gorkom buro. The same applies to the chairman of the city executive committee and the newspaper editor.... I hope that they will not be insulted when I say that the one or two workers who are members of the buro are used as democratic dressing by the leading party authority and as proof of its links with the rank-and-file membership.

This tradition, which was established many years ago, does not contribute in the least to the establishment of true democracy in intraparty relations and in the work of the party committee buro. Why is it that in staffing the gorkom we observe rates of representation of the various social strata, whereas at least 90 percent of the members of the buro are cadre party and soviet personnel? Under such circumstances clickishness in solving problems easily develops, local "leadership" blossoms and so does subservience.

I believe that more than one half of the members of gorkom and raykom buros should be workers and farmers, whose opinion will not be influenced by fear of losing their official position. I believe that it would not be too difficult to find such workers, peasants and intellectuals, who are at home in problems of economics, science and culture, and who have firsthand knowledge of party work.

In my view, this would enable the elected party authorities to organize efficient feedback with the party masses, without which the virus of bureaucratism quickly multiplies in any apparatus; it would enable them to study more accurately and efficiently the socioeconomic processes which are taking place in the party organizations and labor collectives as a whole.

This step, the expediency of which was described by V.I. Lenin, would unquestionably become the link with the help of which we would be able systematically to implement the principle of collective work, promote criticism and self-criticism, and organize control over the activities of all managers and organizations without exception, enhance the moral tone in the life of each party organization and intensify the struggle for the pure and clean title of party member.

It is no secret that to this day, despite the stipulations of the CPSU statutes, decisions by a manager-party member, who may have been convicted for figure padding or abuse of official position, may only be taken mildly to task by the buro and, at worse, such an individual may be transferred to another position. Here is an example: A. Priyan was manager of the Zapsibenergozhilstroy Trust in Surgut. The organization he headed accepted the decisions made by each buro session the moment results of the implementation of plans for socioeconomic development were discussed. The trust never met its planned assignments. And how amazed were the people when they saw at one point the name of this manager among those who had been awarded the Honor Badge. Eventually, at the plenum of the Tyumen CPSU Obkom, someone asked that a study be made of what was happening with the trust's management. The "study" was made and A. Priyan was allowed to leave in peace.

Clickishness and secrecy in the work allow slackness in moral qualities and various transgressions by party member-managers. A number of examples could be cited confirming the clear fact that the lack of conditions for the free and democratic exchange of views and true collective leadership in the work hinder restructuring and continue to pollute the moral atmosphere in which we live and breathe and which we have undertaken to cleanse.

Another danger is also found in the fact that the work style of one party committee or another is projected, as a rule, on the style of activities of the public organizations, the heads of which are members of the buro. Unfortunately, today the buros of the primary party organizations and labor collective councils have begun to be staffed on the basis of similar principles. In my view, this is something to be considered on the eve of the 19th Party Conference.

B. Neuymin, first secretary, Alapayevsk CPSU Gorkom, Sverdlov Oblast: "How to Avoid the Unfortunate 'Substitution'"

During a policy day I found myself in the forest settlement of Garaninka. Dozens of such settlements may be found in our Alapayevskiy Rayon. These are all work centers for the Alapayevskles Association, which is involved in timber procurement and processing. Some 400 people live and work in this settlement. But this is only for the time being! I shall not try to guess what will happen to them a year from now.

For dozens of years, overcutting of timber has been practiced with the blessings of the USSR Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry and in accordance with the assignments issued to the Alapayevskles Association. This averages in excess of 300,000 cubic meters annually. In my view, even a nonspecialist could see that such overcutting leads to the deforestation of our area. In the past 10 years six timber settlements have been closed down and as many are on

the verge of extinction. This unfortunate departmentalism, which has produced its own interpretation of the interests of the state, has been mercilessly interfering in the lives of the population of the timber settlements, such as Berezovka, Muratovka or Garaninka, the future of which, as seen by the ministry, is lightheartedly sacrificed for the sake of the production of so many cubic meters of timber, sawed lumber and construction timber....

Generally speaking, it is the same old story: let the chips fall where they may. However, the desire to extract more timber should not clash with the interests of the people who procure such timber. That is why for quite some time the council of the association's labor collective has had the idea of developing a comprehensive technology for timber felling and processing. The proper substantiations for this plan were developed through the joint efforts of association specialists, frontranking workers and experienced production managers, who are known to the party, soviet and economic authorities in the city, the sectorial departments of the oblast party committee and the respective ministry offices.

For a long time this idea was considered in those institutions as a product of local initiative and bare dreaming which ignored the broader sectorial and governmental interests, unknown on the grass-roots level. Apparently, however, under the influence of the gathering strength of social change, finally, by the end of 1985 an order signed by Minister Comrade M.I. Busygin was published, setting up a permanent comprehensive timber procurement and processing enterprise on the basis of the Alapayevskles Association. The old dream of the labor collective seemed to have become reality. However, this was not about to come. In 1987 as well the ministry issued the association a plan which called for overcutting 117,000 cubic meters of timber.

It was common sense that gave my compatriots the idea of the comprehensive procurement and processing of timber. Actually, in 1986 alone the association exported from the oblast 120,000 cubic meters of logs for plywood, wood chips and industrial lumber, which required some 3,000 railroad cars. The MPS had to be paid 150,000 rubles for the hauling alone. Meanwhile, the local plywood combine in Verkhnyaya Sinyachikha had to import the same amount of raw materials from outside the oblast, from enterprises producing the same items as the Alapayevskles Association.

Incidentally, as city party committee secretary, I was forced to knock at many doors to ensure that the Verkhnyaya Sinyachikha Plywood Combine were given the necessary raw materials. What would happen if the production management system and its availability of resources would break down? Would this not doom the people to lengthy idling? One is unwittingly forced to act not as a party worker but as something like a territorial "minister," resorting to means which are quite unrelated to methods of party activity, using personal connections,

calling people, applying pressure and persuasion. Such an approach to economic management also presumes corresponding methods of influence which some people are in no hurry to abandon: endless abuse, general appeals to "intensify" and "increase," and categorical demands "immediately to take proper measures," and petty supervision of economic managers.... However, all of this is having a very poor influence on the actual development of affairs. This, as the saying goes, is one aspect of the matter. The other is that such a management style is clearly not to the benefit of developing in the people autonomy, initiative and a feeling of enterprise. The mentality of dependency and of expecting instructions from above, which strengthens under the conditions of constant administrative pressure, somehow frees the worker from the need to assume personal responsibility.

The strange method of assigning responsibilities for assignments, which has become established in the higher party authorities is greatly contributing to the increase in such feelings. For example, one may be summoned to the party obkom on purely economic matters. Naturally, the conference will be attended by those who are directly responsible for the matter. However, it is the gorkom first secretary who is asked to provide the explanations. Naturally, the party worker is responsible for everything which occurs in the organization he heads. But then the economic manager who has committed one blunder or another is no small child! He can and, I believe, should be fully answerable for his actions both as a manager and a party member. It is as though we are protecting the culprit without noticing that, at the same time, we denigrate his professional and human dignity. Some people, having mastered the rules of the game, hide behind the back of the party committee.

Personally, in accordance with the existing behavioral stereotype, when I go to a sovkhoz, I ignore the party committee, settle in the director's office and try to "extract" by telephone the straw needed for the wintering of the cattle, calling the director's colleagues, the managers of the neighboring farm, with whom he jointly attended the oblast feed production conference. In the final account, the particular director, who was unable to ensure the necessary fodder for the sovkhoz cattle, was fired, but we cannot fire everyone....

The paradoxical nature of the present situation, in my view, is that restructuring demands of us to free party work from anything extraneous to it. However, those same interests of the project, related to concern for the comprehensive socioeconomic development of the rayon and the needs of the people in that same Garaninka forest settlement, for example, makes it necessary for us to continue to perform functions which should be entirely within the competence of the local soviets and the authorities in charge of economic management. Obviously, this is not a new problem and the inadmissibility of such duplication has been repeatedly pointed

out, including very recently. Honestly speaking, however, so far little has changed. Naturally, the explanation is that the old economic mechanism is still operating while the new is only taking shape and that in the economic management system bureaucratic centralism has by no means been entirely replaced by democratic centralism. The self-governing trends invested in the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) are as yet to grow and strengthen. The local soviets have still not learned and, sometimes, frequently do not dare to make full use of their rights in solving vital problems of territorial socioeconomic development....

The only possible conclusion from all this is that everything possible must be done, everything that depends on every one of us, for such problems which have been put on the agenda of restructuring and the democratization of the party and society to be solved as soon and as efficiently as possible. In this connection, I would like to make a number of specific suggestions.

First, in order to strengthen the role of the local soviets, we must indicate more clearly and in greater detail than has been done in the USSR Constitution (perhaps even by issuing some kind of special legal document) the range of problems which can be solved by the soviet and only the soviet. In order for such stipulations not to remain, as in the past, mere pious wishes, they should be backed by an efficient legal and organizational mechanism, and we must clearly determine where the power of a department ends and that of the local soviet begins. This will ensure that a soviet which has been unable or unwilling to solve "its own" problem will not try to shift it to the party authorities.

Second, I would like to submit yet another suggestion inspired by the specific situation which added to my resolve to write this letter to KOMMUNIST. The Alapayevskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies will soon hold a meeting on the future development of the Alapayevskles Association. Unquestionably, the attending members will pass a resolution on the inadmissibility of overcutting the timber. However, will this decision have sufficient strength? Will the ministry take it into consideration? Why not allow the soviets, in cases of extreme situations, should the future of the socioeconomic development of an entire region be really threatened along with the fate of its population, to have the right to veto, to stop any given departmental decision which conflicts with the interests of the people? Who better than the deputies and their voters could be familiar with local conditions and concerns?

I believe that we must develop the concept of the Fundamental Law and legally codify the foundations, the guarantees for a harmonious combination of the entire society with those of the local population and of individuals to whom we frequently refer in rather abstract terms. In such a case the felling of timber carried out by the department for the sake of "national" interests would not chase my fellow citizens off their land.

While the law is still silent, we shall be preparing for a new meeting at the Garaninka forest settlement. In order to provide an answer to the people, an answer which they are expecting impatiently and with concern, we shall be fighting for the right type of logging, for social justice to which the population of this small forest settlement is entitled. This is demanded of us by our party duty.

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The Siberian Economy—Structural Policy Tasks
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[Article by Aleksandr Grigoryevich Granberg, director of the Institute of Economics and Organization of Industrial Production, USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member]

[Text] The results of the accelerated development of production forces in Siberia greatly depend on the type of strategy selected for the structural reorganization of its economy. Restructuring, which implements the overall concept of perfecting the all-union territorial division of labor, will mark a new stage in the utilization of the regional resource potential, consistent with the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution, and will bring about substantial socioeconomic changes. The formulation of the restructuring strategy will require a comprehensive approach and the involvement of specialists in various areas in this work. Science, the science of economics above all, plays a particularly great role in selecting a proper way of development for Siberia. This choice must be made with the participation of the broad circles of our public.

Some Results of the Growth and Structural Changes in the Siberian Economy

In recent decades the pace of Siberian economic development was, as a whole, higher than the average for the union. Between 1966 and 1985 industrial output here increased by a factor of 3.6, compared to a factor of 3.2 for the country at large. Construction and transportation also developed at a faster pace. As a result, the share of Siberia in the union economy increased gradually and, at the beginning of the 1980s, exceeded 10 percent in terms of gross output, the national income and industrial production (although Siberia accounts for 8 percent of the population). In terms of its overall volume of output, today Siberia is superior by several hundred percent to all union republics with the exception of the RSFSR and the UkSSR. Public labor productivity in Siberia is higher than the average for the union by a factor of 1.2-1.3.

Industrial output and related industrial construction play a decisive role in maintaining a high rate of economic growth in Siberia. Unlike the overall pattern in the development of the sectorial industrial production structure, the fast development of Siberia was largely as a result of the extracting industry. This became particularly noticeable starting with the second half of the 1960s, when the extensive development of the petroleum and natural gas resources of the West Siberian plain was undertaken. During the 10th and 11th 5-year periods the growth rates of the extracting industry in Siberia outstripped the pace of the processing industry; they were substantially higher than the growth rates of the country's overall industrial output and exceeded the annual rates of the entire Soviet extracting industry by a factor of 3-4. Today in Siberia the share of the extracting sectors in the overall volume of industrial output is triple that of Soviet industry as a whole. How to assess this situation on the basis of regional and national economic positions?

The dynamic and structural features of Siberian industrial development were determined, above all, by the radical changes which took place in our country in the territorial structure of fuel and raw material extraction. As we know, the gradual slowdown in the extraction of fuel in the European part of the USSR, starting with the second half of the 1970s, was followed by an absolute drop in its level. However, as in the past, three-quarters of the consumption of fuel and energy were concentrated in this the most developed economic part of the country. Siberia began to compensate for an increasing share of the growth of union-wide requirements and, in terms of petroleum and natural gas, not only for the entire growth but also in order to compensate for reduced extraction in other parts of the country, which amounted to 20-25 million tons of nominal fuel annually. By the end of the 11th 5-year period, 3.6 billion tons of petroleum (including gas condensate) had already been extracted in Siberia. Currently Siberia accounts for nearly two-thirds of the petroleum and more than 60 percent of the natural gas extracted in the country. The gradual increase of Siberia's role in the all-union output is characteristic of a number of other sectors in the extracting industry, coal and timber procurement in particular. Siberia is of great importance in Soviet foreign economic relations. Organizations engaged in the procurement of natural gas to Western European countries became widely known internationally; the gas pipeline from Urengoy to the western borders of the USSR was laid in record time despite an economic boycott.

Today Siberia is putting to use its main economic advantage in the all-union territorial division of labor: availability of extremely rich and efficient energy, mineral-raw material, timber and water resources. That is precisely why, compared with the all-union industrial structure, Siberia is part of the group of primary and intermediary public production stages related to the extraction and processing of natural raw materials. The

disproportions which exist in the structure of the Siberian economic complex are due less to the excessive development of fuel and raw material sectors than to prolonged lagging, first of all, in the development of production of facilities for the processing of fuel and raw materials and, second, the complex of support and servicing sectors (construction and construction industry, transportation, ferrous metallurgy and machine building, food base, etc.). This lag is painfully affecting the solution of many social problems (ensuring the population with housing, developing the social infrastructure, the quality of food supplies, and trade and transportation services). This aggravates the problem of drawing and retaining cadres in labor-scarce areas and conflicts with the principles of social justice.

Starting with the 1970s, with an overall slowdown in the pace of development of the national economy as a whole, the pace of the area declined even faster. Thus, in the 1970s the average annual growth rates in Siberian industry outstripped the overall union level by approximately a factor of 1.1; in the 11th 5-year period they came even closer to those of the rest of the union. Excluding the petroleum and gas industries from gross (commodity) industrial output, we would see that the overall rates of development of all other industrial sectors in Siberia became equal to the union average as early as during the 9th 5-year period and dropped below them in the 10th. In the past quarter-of-a-century not once have the 5-year plans for the overall growth of Siberian industrial output been fulfilled!

Let us add to this that the range of sectors which are developing in Siberia faster than in the rest of the country is steadily narrowing. It has lost ferrous metallurgy, the chemical industry and a number of machine building subsectors. The resolutions of the 13th to 16th Party Congresses on concentrating in Siberia power- and water-intensive production facilities, and intensifying the comprehensive processing of extracted raw materials were implemented with great delays. Furthermore, the share of the area in the all-union production of chemical fertilizers, plastics, synthetic resins, chemical staples, paper and many other commodities declined. Starting with the 10th 5-year period, electric power was added to the list of tight spots in the Siberian economy, which appears particularly paradoxical for an area which accounts for more than three-quarters of the country's potential energy resources.

A variety of reasons account for the appearance of alarming trends in the development of the Siberian economy. They cannot be reduced to isolated errors in planning or implementation of plans. In a number of cases they exceed the limits of the Siberian area and are explained by the features of the current economic mechanism and the lack of coincidence among national, departmental and local interests. The importance of this problem was discussed at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum. I shall discuss one aspect.

In the implementation of the 5-year plans many ministries and departments try to concentrate their resources in the already developed areas. Such tactics yield certain advantages. They require lower investments of departmental funds in the production and social infrastructures, savings in terms of regional wage coefficients and lesser concern for the recruitment and retention of manpower. So far, the departments are compensating for outlays for the use of nature, which are particularly substantial in areas with high production and population concentration (confiscation of farmland, water consumption, etc.) to an insignificant extent. In order to understand the reasons for the existing situation we must take into consideration the fact that the processing sectors are not investing funds in the development of the transportation of fuel, energy and raw materials. As a result, departmental cost accounting in the processing industry frequently gravitates toward the European parts of the country. This is also encouraged by the already noted structural deformations in the Siberian economy, particularly the scarcity of construction capacities, the underdeveloped transportation system and temporary difficulties in power supplies.

For that reason we cannot consider accidental the fact that despite the decisions made by the party and the government, major capacities for power- and water-intensive production facilities are being created in the European part of the country, which worsen the scarcity of power and water supplies. Shipments of fuel, annually flowing from east to west, over a distance ranging from 2,000 to 4,000 kilometers, is already approaching the 1 billion tons level (in nominal fuel). This demands several billion rubles in capital and operational expenditures for hauling the fuel and the use of scarce manpower and material resources. For example, capital investments in laying main gas pipelines alone exceeded 20 billion rubles during the 11th 5-year period and a gas pipeline section alone absorbed an average of 3 million tons of metal.

The situation which prevails in the petrochemical industry is typical. It has long been proved that Siberia has the most favorable conditions possible for the extensive and comprehensive processing of hydrocarbons. This circumstance was taken into consideration when the decision was made to create the very big Tobolsk and Tomsk petrochemical complexes. However, their construction was delayed inadmissibly. For example, in 12 years it is only the commodity-material base that was completed at the Tobolsk Petrochemical Combine, receiving from the gas processing plants in the middle reaches of the Ob River a big fraction of hydrocarbons (unstable gas benzene) and a gas fractioning system with a capacity for 3 million tons, which breaks down the initial raw material into butane, pentane, propane, etc. The plan called for the creation of a chain of related production facilities leading to the production of rubber and plastics. To this purpose imported equipment worth tens of millions of rubles was purchased and stored. However, the deadlines for the completion of new capacities are being extended

further and further. Meanwhile, a product pipeline worth more than 200 million rubles, used to haul raw materials to the combines and plants along the Volga, was completed.

The overall conclusion is that structural changes in the Siberian economy during the period under consideration yielded uneven results from the viewpoint of national economic expediency and the tasks of the region's social development. On the one hand, there have been unquestionable accomplishments in developing the largest possible fuel and raw material base in the country and in strengthening the role of the area in the unified national economic complex. On the other, the course of accelerating the development of the Siberia economy has been followed with insufficient consistency and efficiency, lacking the necessary economic and social prerequisites for its future preservation. "...In order to maintain a stable pace of economic development," M.S. Gorbachev said at the conference of the party and economic activists of Tyumen and Tomsk Oblasts, "we need a profoundly thought-out production organization, which will take into consideration not only the present but also the future tasks of the area and the needs of the country as a whole."

On the Concept of a Structural Policy in Siberia

The concept of a structural policy for a large area such as Siberia should be part of a long-term strategy for the development of the country's national economy. Such a methodological approach requires the joint consideration and interconnection among a number of potentially available development alternatives and the consideration of a variety of situations which could arise as a result of one type of plan or another. To this purpose the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department Institute of Economics and Organization of Industrial Production uses a set of mathematical models known by the acronym SIRENA (Synthesis of Regional and National Economic Models), with the help of which, using computers, the various choices of a balanced development of the country's sectors and areas are computed and assessed. The preplanning elaborations take into consideration suggestions submitted by scientific research and design institutes, materials from the General Plan for the Location of Production Forces and the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress.

These studies lead to the conclusion that in the interest of accelerating the entire national economy it is important to continue to maintain the faster (i.e., superior to the all-union) pace of Siberian economic development. Intervals for the optimal correlation between the "Siberian" and the all-union pace have been computed and priorities have been substantiated in the development of sectors ensuring faster economic growth. In accordance with the accepted dynamics of acceleration of the pace of Soviet economic development, it would be expedient, in

the immediate future, to raise the "Siberian" pace in terms of the gross national product and industrial output by 5-5.5 percent and subsequently to increase it to 6-6.5 percent.

The recommended ratios are consistent with the party-state resolution on the priority development of the eastern areas of the country. However, they are only partially included in the plans for the 12th 5-year period. Thus, the state plan for the economic and social development of the RSFSR for 1986-1990 stipulates an increased volume of industrial production for Siberia and the Far East of 24.7 percent which, although higher than the overall republic rate (23 percent) nonetheless remains below the planned volume of Soviet industrial output (a 25 percent increase).

The concept of the national economic expediency of ensuring a faster rate of development of the Siberian economy is not new; it was substantiated in previous elaborations of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department as well (see *Sibir v Yednom Narodnokhozyaystvennom Komplekse* [Siberia Within the Unified National Economic Complex]. Nauka, Novosibirsk, 1980). What is new is the approach to the content, to the quality of faster economic growth.

The existence of a variety of natural resources in Siberia which, in terms of reserves and technical and economic characteristics are in many cases unmatched elsewhere in the country, and the good prospects for new geological discoveries enable us confidently to forecast that Siberia will be able to increase its **raw material and energy potential**, concentrating within it a growing share of the union extraction of fuel and other mineral resources and timber. However, compared with previous 5-year periods, the situation has been changed essentially: in the future the extracting industry will be unable to ensure a sufficiently high, not to mention priority, development rates for the Siberian economy. What is the basis for this conclusion?

The main trends of Soviet economic and social development for 1986-1990 and the period until the year 2000, which were adopted at the 27th Party Congress, stipulate that by the year 2000 75 to 80 percent of the increased need for fuel, energy and raw and other materials will be met through conservation. This means that while the end product (or the national income) will be increasing by 4-5 percent annually, the increased use of primary material resources should be approximately 1 percent annually. As early as the 12th 5-year period, in accordance with the state plan, conservation will account for 65-70 percent of the increased need for fuels, energy, and raw and other materials. With an increased volume of industrial output of 25 percent in 5 years, the increase in the fuel and raw material sectors will equal 11-13 percent. Naturally, the share of the latter in the overall volume of industrial output will be steadily declining. This union-wide trend will have a strong impact on Siberian structural policy.

As was pointed out, Siberia already accounts for a high share of the union-wide extraction of a variety of fuels and raw materials. Increasingly the subsequent development of such production in Siberia will be determined by the increase in national economic requirements, for which reason the reduced pace in their development becomes inevitable. Relying on the extracting sectors becomes incompatible with the course of accelerated priority development of Siberia in terms of the interests of the national economy. The center of gravity must be shifted to the more dynamic sectors of the processing industry.

The considerably accelerated development of output in the extensive processing of extracted raw materials and the concentration here of a growing share of the union output of energy, materials and water-intensive ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, the chemical and petrochemical industries, the microbiological, timber processing and cellulose-paper industries and the production of efficient production materials are the first area in the structural reorganization of the regional economy.

One of the key aspects of Siberian structural policy is promoting the leading role of the **complex of construction materials and chemicals**. The economic efficiency of concentrating processing industry in Siberia is determined, above all, by two factors: first, savings from the transportation of raw materials, energy and semi-finished goods; second, the possibility of making comprehensive use of the variety of extracted natural resources and the elimination of losses in their extraction, transportation, processing and consumption.

These factors are most characteristic of the petrochemical industry. In this area, however, we must surmount the inertia of the past. For the time being, in terms of enterprises in Siberia, the USSR Minneftekhimprom (which includes the already mentioned Tobolsk combine) has planned for the 12th 5-year period a very insignificant increase in output and capital investments which have been allocated are fewer by a factor of almost 40 compared with investments in the petroleum and gas industry!

The accelerated development of processing facilities in Siberia must become an urgent national economic task. The following must be taken into consideration: for a while the production of a number of raw materials in Siberia will increase and, consequently, it is a question of distributing the **growth** of output in such a way as not to reduce, as a rule, procurements to the already developed range of consumers in other areas, and to increase the share of local consumption. However, if we ignore this factor, the time will come when the volume of extraction will begin to stabilize or to decline and the efficiency with which raw materials are chosen for local processing will drop sharply: difficulties will increase in supplying consumers in distant areas and the question of overloading the already established transportation facilities (such as expensive pipelines laid in a westerly direction) will

arise. The favorable moment will have been lost. The national economy would lose another tens of billions of rubles; the existing territorial division of labor between "raw material" and "processing" areas will become further justified. It is entirely possible that in 15 to 20 years the concentration of processing capacities in Siberia will lose a great deal of its economic efficiency. As to the more distant future, as the "age of raw materials" ends, this problem may not even exist.

The second trend to be followed in the structural reorganization of the Siberian economy is related to the accelerated growth of **machine building**. This is an essential element in the concept of regional development, which changes the existing stereotype, for the popular concept that the development of the sectorial structure of the regional economy (particularly the establishment of specialized sectors) usually takes place as a systematic rise in the various stages of the national economic technological process: from primary (raw material) to secondary (processing) production facilities, and so on, leading to the creation of finished products which especially include machines and equipment. The accelerated development of the machine building sectors means a leap (inversion) in the process of shaping the region's sectorial structure. Naturally, the economic substantiation of such structural changes requires a **differentiated** approach to machine building and the establishment, within this complex, of subsectors considered the most efficient in terms of the area.

The increased contribution of Siberian machine building to meeting the needs of the area presumes the development and respecialization of existing enterprises and freeing them from the production of goods which are relatively labor intensive and unrelated to the basic regional specialization. Instead, possibilities should be sought of expanding the production of machines, equipment, and instruments which would accelerate the development of the most important sectors of the Siberian economic complex. Particularly important economically is the manufacturing of equipment for "northern" use, although the same problem was raised a long time ago. Computations made on the basis of different methods indicate that annual losses from the use of equipment unadapted to local conditions total several billion rubles; hundreds of thousands of people are engaged in rebuilding and maintaining such equipment in operational condition.

The third group of sectors in the accelerated development of the Siberian economic complex is that of the traditionally lagging **production infrastructure** (construction facilities and transportation in particular) and a number of support sectors, the **agroindustrial complex** above all.

By the year 2000 the construction program in the area will have more than doubled. The main thing, however, will be not the quantitative growth but the technical and organizational-economic reorganization of material

facilities for construction, including the industrialization of the bulk of the construction process, the conversion to new types of building structures and materials, the establishment of construction support bases and the use of new architectural-planning solutions. A broad program has also been planned for transportation development, reaching beyond the end of the century. The building of the BAM is nearing completion and that of the Amur-Yakut Mainline (AYaM) has been started; the active establishment of a transportation system in the northern part of Western Siberia is continuing.

The development of the Siberian agroindustrial complex is oriented toward the full satisfaction of the needs of the regional population for locally produced food staples. Priority in the structural reorganization of the APK will be given to the processing and infrastructural sectors which had remained behind for a long time.

An important economic advantage of Siberia, which is becoming greater at the stage of leap-frogging scientific and technical progress, is the fact that in the past decades a major scientific base has been developed here, which includes the Siberian departments of the USSR Academy of Sciences, VASKHNIL and the AMN sectorial scientific research institutes, VUZs and design bureaus, or a total of more than 500 organizations employing some 200,000 people. The faster growth of "output" in the area of scientific research, experimental design and engineering developments should, in our view, be considered a mandatory requirement in contemporary structural policy. It is on this basis that priority will be given in the development of the **most** science-intensive production facilities, which run through all economic sectors.

The activities of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department, particularly within the framework of the Siberia Program, are aimed at the establishment and development of science-intensive production facilities which will apply basic scientific ideas. Examples in this area include the development of radiation technologies and industrial accelerators at the Institute of Nuclear Physics; plasma technology, at the Institute of Thermal Physics, new microprocessor systems and instruments at the Institute of Automation and Electrometry; mining equipment, at the Mining Institute; industrial technologies using blast energy at the Institute of Hydrodynamics; biotechnologies and gene engineering "products" at the Institute of Cytology and Genetics and the Institute of Biophysics; and a number of chemical technologies, catalysts, products of fine organic synthesis developed by chemical institutes, and so on. The economic results of applied developments of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department over the past 10 years have exceeded 2 billion rubles.

Unquestionably, the use of the results of scientific research is not limited to Siberian territory, and many of them have gained union-wide and even global application. However, direct contacts between collectives of

scientific workers, designers and engineers, on the one hand, and production enterprises, on the other, offer in Siberia particularly favorable opportunities for the development of the manufacturing of the latest equipment, technological systems, machines, chemicals, medical preparations, and so on, and the implementation of technological and engineering-planning solutions consistent with the natural and socioeconomic conditions of Siberia. However, this requires a significant expansion of the scientific experimental-production base. We are also greatly relying on the new forms of interaction between science and production: scientific-production associations, interdepartmental scientific and technical complexes and engineering-technical centers.

The objectives of Siberian structural reorganization are not limited to accelerating the development and upgrading the efficiency of the production area. This process is also closely related to the new stage in **ecological and social policy**.

The combination of economic with ecological interests takes place in solving problems of the comprehensive utilization of raw materials, the processing of a variety of waste and the popularization of wasteless production technologies, particularly in ore mining, energy, metallurgy, chemistry and the agroindustrial and timber complexes. Such activities yield not only economic results (obtaining additional output, for example, by cultivating on an industrial scale special bacteria which synthesize feed protein from petroleum-polluted water reservoirs, and reducing outlays of prime raw materials in the production of finished goods), but also improving the condition of the air and water basins and the land and, as a whole, the flora and fauna. Some areas in the changed production structure are directly subordinate to improving the ecological situation, such as redesigning the Baykal Cellulose-Paper Combine, the conversion of electric power plants in large cities to the use of gas fuel, the production of technological equipment for treatment systems, and so on.

The solution of social problems in Siberia greatly depends on the construction and agroindustrial complexes, transportation and machine building, i.e., on sectors which create the social infrastructure and account for a significant percentage of consumer goods and services. This solution can be improved by surmounting the residual principle in the allocation of production capacities and other resources for housing and sociocultural construction, and the more extensive participation of heavy industry sectors in developing the population's consumer goods. A number of commodities produced at Siberian industrial enterprises have already gained union-wide fame (Berd radio equipment, Novosibirsk tape recorders, Krasnoyarsk refrigerators, etc.). Further possibilities exist for developing the inter-regional procurements of such items.

The diversification of the Siberian economy, the creation of advanced production facilities in particular, is a favorable factor in solving a major social problem, such

as retaining local cadres and attracting labor resources from other areas. We must not ignore the aspiration of the working people, the young in particular, to engage in activities which are at the cutting edge of the scientific and technical revolution. Increasingly, this fact will determine the policy of the creation of new jobs and, consequently, will influence the production structure. In his talk with the working people in the Far East, M.S. Gorbachev repeatedly linked together two tasks which are also relevant to Siberia: increasing the population of the area and no longer considering it merely as a source of raw materials by creating here processing industry sectors. Expanding the structure of developing sectors sets new tasks for the **educational system** in Siberia, particularly if we have in mind the fact that the Basic Directions in Restructuring Higher and Secondary Specialized Education in the Country stipulate the need for training specialists in the necessary skills primarily on a regional basis. Furthermore, in terms of Siberia, the policy of limiting labor-intensive industry remains relevant.

Finally, a specific Siberian aspect of structural policy is **perfecting the territorial organization of the economy**, and adopting a differentiated approach to the various areas, based on their different natural, demographic and economic conditions.

We know that the period of priority development of fuel and raw material sectors in Siberia was related to the extensive development of the natural resources of the northern areas. Especially great progress was made in the petroleum and gas extracting northern areas of Western Siberia. Thus, in the 1970s the volume of industrial output in the Near North (the main petroleum extraction area) increased by a factor of 5.9, and in the Far North (the main area for the extraction of natural gas), by a factor of 26.2. Let us note for the sake of comparison that in the southern part of Western Siberia within the same period industrial output increased by no more than 70 percent, which was below the growth rates of industrial output for the USSR as a whole. The fastest development in Eastern Siberia was in the areas of the Near North, where a new large industrial belt was established (the lower reaches of the Angara, the Brats-Ust-Ilim TPK, and the western part of the BAM zone).

Starting with the 12th 5-Year Plan, the emphasis in the development policy of the various Siberian areas will change substantially. The accelerated development of sectors of the processing industry and the agroindustrial complex, and the emphasis on intensifying the use of existing production facilities and available manpower will create conditions for the faster development of the southern areas, which offer favorable possibilities for a variety of economic activities. This is eloquently confirmed by the indicators of the plans for the economic and social development for the 12th 5-year period, as adopted by the local soviets. Thus, for example, the petroleum extracting area of the middle reaches of the Ob (within the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug)

the volume of industrial output will be increased by 9 percent; it will be increased by 28 percent in Novosibirsk Oblast and 30 percent in Altay Kray. In terms of its sectorial structure and factors of economic growth, the southern area of Siberia will become similar to the typical areas of the European part of the USSR.

The northern areas of Siberia will retain their union specialization in the extraction of petroleum, natural gas, condensate, diamonds, timber procurement and the production of nonferrous metals. Taking into consideration a number of cost-increasing factors and the harsh climate, it would be expedient to limit the production structure of these areas to reducing raw material losses, developing a complex of "close action" support production facilities, meeting domestic needs for motor fuel and food products hard to ship, and so on. A particular task is that of improving the living conditions and labor of the native nationalities. The concept of Siberian development presumes the intensification of the economic interaction between southern and northern areas. In this case two main tasks are singled out: broadening the participation of the south in the economic development of the north and creating in the south a set of production facilities of union significance engaged in processing the natural resources of the north, petroleum, natural gas and condensate above all.

Supplying the southern part of Siberia with natural gas is an exceptionally important feature in the acceleration and intensification of its economy: the use of gas for the production of chemicals, microbiology, intensification of production processes, the power industry, the communal economy, with a view to improving the quality of the air, automotive transportation, and so on. So far treated petroleum gas only has been supplied to the southern part of Siberia (not beyond the Kuzbass), in relatively small amounts. The currently planned gas pipeline between the Tyumen North-Omsk-Novosibirsk-Kuzbass (in its "telescopic" variant, i.e., with a gradually reduced diameter) cannot solve major problems. The recommendations of the all-union conference on "Development of Siberian Production Forces and Acceleration of Scientific and Technical Progress," substantiate the economic and social efficiency of giving priority to construction, in a southern direction, of two main gas pipelines with maximal handling capacity. However, the USSR Gosplan and the Mingazprom have postponed this assignment for the indefinite future and, as in the past, are planning superlong gas pipelines leading only to the central part of the country, the western borders and the Transcaucasus.

The "Basic Stipulations for a Radical Restructuring of Economic Management," which were adopted at the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, called for strengthening the territorial aspect in planning and upgrading the comprehensiveness of plans for the economic and social development of autonomous republics, krais, oblasts and large cities. In order to implement the

long-term strategy for the accelerated priority development of the Siberian economy, we must also strengthen the planning and economic activities on the scale of the entire macroregion. Currently the formulated plans for the autonomous republics, krays and oblasts are not coordinated with the mandatory plans for the large economic areas; there is a virtual absence of organizational and economic instruments for controlling their comprehensive development. The CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress has issued a serious assignment to economists—both scientists and practical workers: "We must study the question of national economic management by large economic area." We must enhance the tuning of all elements of the new economic mechanism to meet the special conditions of the eastern and northern areas. We must also make fuller use of the advantages of the program-target approach to solving the biggest territorial problems, including target resource support. In our view, sufficient logical grounds and significant scientific background have been created for the formulation and implementation of a long-term governmental comprehensive program for the development of Siberian production forces.

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[Article by Yegor Timurovich Gaydar, candidate of economic sciences, editor, *KOMMUNIST* political and economic policy department]

[Text] Currently we are refining the results of the development of the national economy in 1987. Many of the indicators, important for analytical purposes, will become known later. However, even the information already at the disposal of the USSR Goskomstat leads to the conclusion that in a number of most important areas of increased efficiency, the positive trends which were noticed in 1986 continued. A stressed energy conservation assignment was met. Production costs declined rapidly in industry (0.7 percent in 1987 as against 0.3 percent annual average during the 11th 5-year period) and in construction (0.8 percent in 1987 and 0.25 between 1981 and 1985). For the first time, we were able to note in the production sectors a release of personnel in absolute figures. In industry alone 140,000 people were released. Labor productivity increased at a high pace in this sector and production modernization in machine building was accelerated sharply. However, we were unable to maintain the high growth rates in national income and in industrial and agricultural output, attained in 1986 (see table).

Growth Rates (in percent)

Indicator	1981-1985 Annual Average	12th 5-Year Plan Annual Average	1986	1987
Generated national income	3.6	4.2	4.1	2.3
Industrial production	3.7	4.6	4.9	3.8
Agricultural production	1.0	2.7	5.3	0.2

In themselves, the reduced growth rates of output are not a matter of great concern. Experience proves that a short increase in rates as a result of excessive accumulations could be combined with the preservation of an archaic economic structure. Their lowering, in turn, could be the natural result of the structural reorganization and curtailing the production of inefficient goods not sought by consumers. How has the economic growth influenced the living standard and to what extent have we been able to ensure prerequisites for a long-term acceleration of socioeconomic development? The answer to such questions is of essential importance in order to assess economic developments in 1987.

I.

Growth rates in housing construction remained low for 5 consecutive 5-year periods (1961-1985). The average annual completion of housing between 1981 and 1985 was 12.3 million square meters higher than in 1961-1965. Despite the gravity of the problem, the conviction which prevailed among high-ranking economic managers was that it was impossible significantly to increase the scale of housing construction. Practical experience indicated the extensive opportunities here, which exceeded even optimistic forecasts. However, in order to use them it was necessary to put a firm end to underestimating the social area and the practice of residual allocation of funds to meet its requirements. In 1986 housing construction was increased by 6.8 million square meters. Preliminary estimates indicate that in 1987 this indicator reached 10 million square meters. As early as 1985 we were building significantly less housing per capita compared to the GDR and Bulgaria. Today this lag has been eliminated.

At the same time there was a fast growth of capital investments in the construction of schools, children's preschool institutions, polyclinics and cultural projects. So far the expected results have not been achieved in all areas which were given social priority. In particular, in 1987 the situation with the building of hospitals even worsened. As a whole, however, the annual results indicate that a turn to the social area was backed by real accomplishments.

Nonetheless, as we assess these successes, we must not forget their noncomparability with the scale of the disproportions which had developed and with the problems as yet to be solved. In towns and urban-type settlements alone, at the beginning of 1987 there were 12,660,000 families and single citizens who needed improvements in their living conditions. Such conditions were improved in 1986 for 1,762,000 families. We can confidently say that in 1987 the number of such families exceeded 1.8 million. Nonetheless, many people who live under extremely adverse circumstances are still deprived of the right to be on the waiting list for housing. We need a certain amount of time before the results of the efforts aimed at accelerating housing construction can seriously influence our assessment of the dynamics of living standards in the mass consciousness.

The average wage of workers and employees rose by 3 percent (rather than 2.6 percent as planned). Wages in industry, in machine building in particular, increased more slowly than planned. In construction, where the growth rates of labor productivity sharply increased with the extensive use of collective contracting, wages increased somewhat faster than planned. Substantial funds were invested in raising the salaries of workers in education and health care.

In order to achieve a real increase in income it was necessary to ensure a corresponding increase in the production of consumer goods in demand and of the volume of paid services. In 1986 retail trade increased by 6 percent. In 1987 it was scheduled to increase (in current prices) by 6.5 percent. We were unable to accomplish this. Trade increased by no more than 2.8 percent. This was due to certain objective circumstances.

The first among them was related to the foreign trade situation. The time when our economy was relatively independent from the world market is in the past. Foreign economic relations enable us to meet the needs of the country for a variety of commodities and are the most important source of budget revenue. However, any weakening of our positions on the world market directly affects the situation in the national economy. In 1986, as a result of a decline in world energy prices, the USSR showed a deficit in its trade with the developed capitalist countries (2.7 billion foreign exchange rubles). According to data for the first 9 months of 1987, this deficit was reduced to 0.3 billion. However, in order to make imports consistent with export resources, we were forced substantially to reduce imports, including consumer goods.

Between 1984 and 1987 sales of alcoholic beverages in state and cooperative trade and public catering (in terms of alcohol) in the USSR dropped by more than one half. According to such data, per capita alcohol consumption in our country is now substantially below that in the developed foreign countries, both socialist and capitalist. In the 1986-1987 periods the average life span increased by nearly 2 years. This is largely the result of the reduced

mortality rate caused by accidents. Naturally, an objective assessment of successes in this area must also take into consideration the increased production of moonshine. The 1987 state "vodka" income was far short of the planned amount.

Meanwhile, the sale of animal husbandry goods increased substantially. As we know, meat production (in slaughtered weight) remained virtually stable between 1975 and 1982 (an increase of 400,000 tons in 7 years). Starting with 1983, positive trends began to appear. In 1987 consumption of such items increased by 600,000 tons. Considering the acute shortage of meat and meat products, these figures may quite understandably seem suspicious. However, these favorable trends are confirmed by a set of interrelated indicators (increased volume of goods marketed, availability of stocks in wholesale trade, and so on).

The average sale price of meat at kolkhoz markets in Kostroma, Kalinin, Gorkiy, Tula, Tambov and many other cities, according to RSFSR Goskomstat data, remained high (6 rubles per kilogram). For the republic as whole, however, the rise of such prices was insignificant (0.5 percent). The fact that even a significant increase in the production and marketing of meat and meat products had little influence on the market situation is equally understandable: the amount of unsatisfied demand for such goods at current state prices is quite high.

It is noteworthy that the production of animal husbandry goods increased although the size of the herds declined. On a parallel basis, fodder availability and, therefore, cattle productivity, increased. Contracting and raising cattle in private plots had a positive influence. Naturally, from the viewpoint of the demands of society and of international comparisons, the results achieved in animal husbandry are still quite modest. The possibilities of production intensification through increased cattle productivity and, on this basis, releasing manpower, and saving on fodder and capital investments, are still being used with excessive caution. What is more important, however, is that progress in the desired direction is continuing.

However, no realistically conceivable increase in the production of animal husbandry output could fill the gap which developed in trade as a result of reduced imports of consumer goods and sales of alcoholic beverages. This was to be achieved by other means: by drastically increasing the production of durable consumer goods. However, the corresponding plans were not supported by the proper handling of resources and, unfortunately, have remained nothing but pious wishes. The scarcity of resources could not be compensated with administrative measures or with overtime. As a whole, the goods delivered to the trade system were worth 17 billion rubles less than stipulated in the initial plan. Increased procurements of household and cultural goods totaled

not 12 but 6 percent. Production shortfalls included more than 700,000 television sets, about 600,000 tape recorders and approximately 300,000 sewing machines.

The result was a stressed situation which developed in trade in consumer goods. The retail trade volume was 12.6 billion rubles below the planned figure. Retail trade inventory dropped by 4.4 billion rubles. The scarcity of many goods worsened (shoes, some types of clothing and knitted goods, coffee, toothpaste, etc.). The drastic increase in the sales of many commodity groups confirms that the customers are purchasing even commodities which they had previously refused. This is an indication of a lowered confidence in the ruble.

Any further increase in the imbalance between solvent demand and supply of consumer goods could have very adverse consequences and, in the final account, lower the stimulating role of wages.

II.

The faster development of the sectors in the machine building complex are the pivot of the structural policy for the 12th 5-year period. The increased production of modern and efficient equipment must become the foundation of the technical reconstruction of the entire national economy. However, it is precisely in machine building that the gap between the plan and the results which were actually obtained in 1987 was the most striking. The growth rates of output in the machine building complex dropped from 6.4 percent in 1986 to 4.6 percent in 1987. Assignments were not met for the production of more than two thirds of the most important types of commodities within the stipulated time. The faster development of machine-tool manufacturing and electrical engineering failed to reach the stipulated level. Steel casting with continuous casting machines increased sluggishly. One of the reasons was underprocurements of corresponding equipment. The growth rates of output of electrosteel, oxygen-converter steel and diesel engines and the dissemination of a number of other progressive technologies proved to be below the figures stipulated in the 5-year plan. Underprocurements of contemporary equipment in metallurgy limited the possibility of that sector to produce economical high-grade materials urgently needed by the machine building industry itself.

The most important factor which changed the working conditions of machine building enterprises in 1987 was the extensive use of inspection. This exceptional step unquestionably contributed to paying greater attention to production quality. On an average for industry the state inspection authorities rejected some 8 percent of finished goods. The worst problem was that of bearings. Given the scarcity of special steel and the severe wearing out of the equipment, the low quality of this item became chronic. After the state inspectors blocked the production of substandard bearings, shortfalls exceeded 24 million pieces. The shortage of bearings sharply

increased in tool manufacturing, the automobile industry, tractor and agricultural machine building and other sectors. Similar difficulties developed in industrial rubber procurements.

Problems related to updating machine building output and increasing the production of its efficient goods have by no means been entirely solved. However, let us not underestimate accomplishments. The USSR Goskomstat has singled out a group of highly efficient types of machine building output, the production of which increased faster than the output of the sector as a whole by a factor of approximately 2.5. For example, according to data for the first 11 months, the production of generators of uniform standardized series increased from 23 to 32 percent of the total production of generators for steam and gas turbines; the respective figures for electric motors of the II series increased from 8 to 14 percent of the overall production of AC electric motors. Such a structural reorganization has been another reason for the slowed growth of volume indicators.

The fast increase in the production of machine building output was to be based on concentrated capital investments in the sector. In themselves, capital investments are outlays. In order to increased output, construction workers and equipment suppliers should have commissioned fixed assets and production capacities. In 1986, however, although capital investments in machine building increased by 15 percent (for industrial and nonproduction projects), the completion of fixed assets increased by 3 percent only. Nor did the situation improve in 1987. The completion of fixed assets in machine building was 18 percent below the planned level.

As a rule, efforts to fulfill an unbalanced plan have negative consequences. This familiar situation was confirmed once again in 1987. Administrative pressure applied on enterprises, aimed at increasing the growth rates of output worsened the implementation of procurement obligations. Enterprises within the machine building complex fell short of the production of goods worth 3.7 billion rubles. In industry as a whole, the amount of goods which were not supplied in accordance with concluded contracts increased by a factor of 1.3 for the year.

III.

If a single plant fails to fulfill its plan the reasons may be sought in the weakness of its management. However, if the results of the activities of the biggest national economic complex substantially differ from those planned, the indication is either that the plan itself was unrealistic and was not balanced in terms of available resources, or else that the necessary prerequisites which would ensure the increased efficiency of their utilization were not provided. What is it that was not contemplated in the work plans of our machine building industry and why was it that capital investments did not lead to the results stipulated in the plan?

In order to accelerate the pace of economic growth, the 5-year plan called for increasing the share of the accumulation fund in the national income. The assumption was that a drastic increase in the efficiency of capital investments and returns per ruble invested in the national economy would enable us, despite a reduced consumption fund, to raise the living standard rapidly. A stable growth of capital returns was demanded (increased national income per ruble of production capital investments), which had shown a declining trend in the preceding period. Indeed, in 1986 capital returns rose sharply. Obviously, however, this reflected the use of organizational factors only, the results of the struggle against drunkenness at work, and weather conditions which had been relatively favorable for agriculture. By 1987, there was a new drop in capital returns which essentially compensated for the previous advance. Any further accelerated increase of outlays which could not bring planned returns could have had serious social consequences. Compared with the 1986-1987 period, the 1988 growth rate of capital investments will be lower.

One of the factors in upgrading the efficiency of capital investments should have been increasing their share used in reconstruction and technical retooling, at the expense of reducing new construction. In other words, the plan called for spending less on new buildings and more on new equipment. Figures appear to confirm that this share indeed increased sharply. In this case, however, the indicators inaccurately reflect the actual process. The study made by the RSFSR Goskomstat indicated that in a number of sectors, in the case of enterprises classified as reconstructed, the share of equipment outlays was even lower than that of new construction.

The lack of progress in improving capital investment efficiency may appear difficult to explain at first glance, for obvious positive changes have been noted in construction. The volume of construction and installation projects is increasing rapidly, material outlays are declining and profits are rising. The positive influence of the collective contracting system, the popularization of which is being informally accomplished in the sector, has been unquestionable.

An entire epic on the subject of construction delays has been written in Soviet economic publications and articles. All of us know the tremendous losses we are experiencing from the fact that the construction of industrial projects frequently takes decades. The reason for such delays is single and extremely simple: the aspiration to build simultaneously more projects than available resources permit. The need to narrow the construction front and, on this basis, to shorten construction deadlines by a minimum of one half, as legally stipulated, was clearly pointed out at the 27th CPSU Congress. Mention was also made of the fact that this is no simple matter and may affect some people quite painfully. Specialists have estimated that reducing construction time to the regulation level would enable us to

increase the average annual growth rates of the national income by 1.3 percent and reduce the share of the accumulation fund and, correspondingly, increase that of the consumption fund.

Considering the planned increase in the volume of construction work for the 5-year period, in order to achieve a reduction in construction time by one half the amount of construction should have been reduced by approximately 40 percent. Actually, the full cost of industrial construction included in the plan dropped from 581 billion rubles in 1986 to 571.1 billion in 1987 (2 percent). Average construction time was shortened by 6 percent (largely due to the increased volume of capital investments), but nonetheless exceeded legal deadlines by a factor of 2.6. Meanwhile, the standards themselves regulating the duration of construction from the viewpoint of international comparisons could not be considered strict. The number of interrupted projects, according to the 1987 plan, increased but they accounted for no more than 3.2 percent of the cost of simultaneous project construction. In the machine building complex cost carry-overs for construction projects included in the plan increased by 3 percent.

The 1987 plan itself did not include prerequisites which would ensure increased capital investment efficiency. It was unable to eliminate departmental and parochial opposition to steps aimed at the concentration of capital investments, which were absolutely needed by the country. According to the plan, with an increased volume of construction work by 8 percent, the commissioning of fixed assets was to increase by 13 percent. Actually, the commissioning of fixed capital did not exceed 5 percent and only 749 of the 1,109 most important production projects were commissioned.

IV.

One sure method exists to make the economy uncontrollable. All it takes is for the national economic plans and other resolutions of the center to exceed the actual possibilities of the national economy. It is precisely in such cases that a situation develops in which, referring to such resolutions, the departments acquire the possibility of implementing exclusively "suitable" projects.

A clear example of uncontrolled development, officially achieved through the intermediary effect of numerous centralized resolutions, is the situation which has developed in the electric power industry. In the course of several 5-year periods Minenergo, which had emphasized the construction of hydroelectric power plants in Siberia, regularly frustrated plans for the creation of capacities for the production of electric power in the Eastern part of the country, on the basis of the inexpensive coal mined in the Kuzbass, Ekibastuz and the Kamsk-Achinsk Basin. The first power turbine at the

Berezovskaya GRES at the Kamsk- Achinsk territorial-production complex was to be commissioned in 1984. It was not commissioned in 1985 or in 1986. The "latest" commissioning deadline (August 1987) was equally not met.

The plan for transmitting inexpensive electric power based on the Ekibastuz coal was to build a powerful DC power cable from Ekibastuz to the center. The failure of the plans for building a thermoelectric power plant in Ekibastuz and in the eastern part of the country as a whole led to a grave shortage of power in the Urals. It is clear today that no power surpluses will be generated in Ekibastuz, to be transmitted to the center in the decades to come. Conversely, a major flow of energy exists in the opposite direction. The USSR Gosstroy Gosekspertiza suggested to halt the laying of this power line (estimated at more than 900 million rubles and, according to specialists, adding related capital investments, 2 billion rubles). This would enable us this 5-year period alone to save 100,000 tons of steel-aluminum wire, 160,000 tons of metal structures and 440,000 cubic meters of prestressed reinforced concrete. However, the ministry was unable to abandon this major and prestigious project which had been decided a long time ago. Realizing that no power could be generated in Ekibastuz for transmission to the west, it suggested... that electric power be sent in the opposite direction, generated by nuclear and thermoelectric power plants located in thickly inhabited areas poor in fuel resources, thousands of kilometers to the east and, during peak load periods, to channel power in the opposite direction. As Professor I.A. Mikulin, one of the specialists who criticized the project, pointed out, a triple loop in the transportation of electric power would develop: fuel from the east flowing to the thermoelectric power plants in the northwest and electric power from the northwest to the east along AC lines and the DC Center- Ekibastuz line and electric power back from Ekibastuz to the Urals, thus aggravating already substantial power losses.

A decision which may have appeared principle-minded on the surface— refusal to revise the plan—actually enables the departments to spend public funds ignoring the public interest. This is yet another example indicating that the implementation of the strategic course of upgrading economic efficiency is possible only on the basis of a constant critical study of existing plans, refining them in accordance with the real situation.

The 12th 5-Year Plan was formulated at the initial stage of restructuring, when we neither could nor were able as yet to understand the full extent of the gravity and scale of occurring processes and pressing problems. We have developed a clearer view now, particularly after the January, June and October CPSU Central Committee Plenums.

The main idea of the 5-year plan (an investment maneuver in favor of the social area and sectors closely related to scientific and technical progress) has no sensible

alternative. However, the implementation of such a maneuver was planned only by increasing capital investments and essentially without their reallocation. Practical experience, has already convincingly proved that a sharp increase in the growth of capital investments will be impossible. Capital returns are insufficient for both carrying out the planned maneuver and maintaining the necessary growth rates of the population's living standards. Furthermore, the effort quickly to increase the volume of output without unburdening the economy or halting inefficient types of activities is causing serious difficulties in the work of the basic sectors.

In analyzing the negative phenomena which appeared in 1987 we must naturally take also into consideration the difficult weather conditions which prevailed at the beginning of the year. The blow which was dealt to the national economy during those months of breakdown in the work of the transportation system indicated, yet once again, how greatly dependent the entire economy is on the work of this sector. At the same time, however, it highlighted the critical situation of our railroads. In 1987 freight shipping by rail dropped by 0.2 percent. The railroads failed to haul a significant amount of timber and metal structures. Turnover time of freight cars increased by 5 hours and sectorial traffic speed dropped. To this day one third of all track switches are still controlled manually. Mainlines with tracks operating on the basis of their own power account for 38,000 kilometers.

The electric power industry is yet another sector in which any breakdown immediately affects the work of the entire national economy and people's lives. In 1987 as a whole the volume of output here was consistent with the planned assignments and deviations of current frequency from the norm were less frequent. However, this was achieved also by restricting equipment repairs and slowing down the replacement of obsolete capacities.

V.

The most important factor in increasing the production of efficient types of commodities is their reallocation on the basis of resources released in other areas. Between 1970 and 1986 cast iron production in the United States declined from 83 to 40 million tons; steel production dropped from 122 to 75 million tons. In the developed capitalist countries as a whole the corresponding figures were 280-229 and 397-344 million tons. There was a parallel increase in the production of the most efficient types of metallurgical goods and material substitutes. Within that period cast iron production in the USSR increased from 86 to 114 million tons and steel smelting from 116 to 162 million. The 1987 plan called for reducing cast iron production. All we were able to accomplish was to keep it on the same level.

References to the fact that the acceleration of structural changes in the Soviet economy is impossible for lack of a capital market and corresponding automatic regulators

are unfounded. It is in precisely in this area that the capitalist countries make active use of state regulations. For example, within the framework of the 1978-1982 program for dismantling and scrapping obsolete and unnecessary equipment, Japan closed down all Martin furnaces and reduced capacities for the production of carbamide and cotton fabrics. The extension program through the year 1988 called for closing down a significant percentage of capacities for the production of sugar, ethylene, aluminum and others.

Unfortunately, the stereotypes of rushing, the concept that reducing the production of a given commodity, not to mention stopping it altogether, would inevitably entail incalculable calamities, has still not been eliminated in discussions concerning our current economic problems. This is by no means consistent with the truth. The national economy has significant possibilities for an efficient reallocation of resources. Here are merely two examples.

We know that our country holds a leading position in the world in the volume of output of many types of agricultural equipment. Although we are behind the United States in grain production by a factor of 1.4, we outstrip the United States by a factor of 6.4 in the production of tractors and by a factor of 16 in the production of grain harvesting combines. We suffer from substantial losses caused by the low quality of many types of agricultural equipment and its careless use. In order to produce the same number of grain harvesting combines which lie broken in our farms (November 1987) American industry would have to work 70 years.

This situation, the paradoxical nature of which is obvious even to a nonspecialist, hardly disturbed anyone as long as purchases of equipment were paid, one way or another, out of the state budget or free loans. Even the initial steps in the economic reform forced kolkhozes and sovkhozes to start counting their money. As was noted at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum, orders for combines declined roughly by 30 percent. There have been less orders placed for individual types of tractors and other agricultural equipment, above all of obsolete and underproductive models.

According to the USSR Gosplan Scientific Research Economics Institute, reducing the procurement of tractors and agricultural machinery in this sector by one third would make available 4.8 million tons of coal, 6.77 billion kilowatt-hours of electric power and 2.4 million tons of steel. Bearing in mind that the wear-out coefficient of fixed assets in ferrous metallurgy was 47 percent in 1986 and that the cost of capital repairs, excluding current repairs, in this sector, accounts for one half of the cost of capital investments, one can easily realize that reducing metal consumption would yield significant results and enable us to write off the most worn-out equipment, reduce repair costs and increase the production of high-grade steels, the shortage of which is legitimately a subject of complaint on the part of designers

and producers of agricultural equipment, indicating the reason for which the specific metal intensiveness per unit capacity of a domestic wheel-driven tractor is 30 to 35 percent higher than in the United States. Naturally, this would also drastically change the structure of production of agricultural equipment and enable us to increase the production of sought-after models.

However, a different path is followed by the Ministry of Agricultural and Tractor Machine Building. It is making "heroic efforts" to increase the production of equipment which is not in demand. For example, consumers in many sectors are unwilling to purchase the T-330 tractor, produced by the Cheboksary Zavod Promyshlennykh Traktorov Production Association, complaining of its low quality and unreliability. Meanwhile, the ministry issued the enterprises a stressed plan and demanded a drastic increase in precisely the production of such tractors.

Since the Volga Automotive Plant, no single enterprise of comparable scale has been built in our country, working directly for consumer demand. We are behind the United States in the production of passenger cars by a factor of nearly 6. The production of inexpensive cars, accessible to middle-income population groups, is extremely limited. The planned production of 50,000 Oka-model cars per year will, naturally, in no way be able to satisfy demand for this model. Under the conditions of a grave imbalance on the consumer goods market, one would believe that a natural solution would be to invest funds in a drastic expansion of corresponding capacities. Instead, we are initiating the construction of a new extremely big tractor-manufacturing giant in Yelabuga, at a cost of 3.8 billion rubles. The overall cost of industrial projects for the manufacturing of agricultural machine building under construction (excluding the former Minzhivmash) was 20 billion rubles in 1987 and exceeded the respective indicator for the USSR Minelectrotekhprom, Minstankoprom, Minpribor, Minkhimmash, Minstroydormash, Minlegpishchemash and Minlegprom combined. While increasing the production of new tractors, the department is indifferent to the fate of the tractors which have already been sold to the farms. Procurements of scarce spare parts needed for their maintenance regularly break down.

The most important factor which lowers the efficiency with which funds appropriated for agriculture are used is the weakness of the production infrastructure which ensures the transportation, storing and processing of the produce. The length of paved roads in our country, which accounts for one sixth of the dry land, is approximately the same as in Japan. India has caught up with us in terms of the overall length of highways. The underdeveloped nature of our road network leads not only to produce losses, but also to fuel overruns and the faster wearout of motor vehicles. To believe that without any serious reallocation of resources we would be able to eliminate our lag in this area is a dangerous illusion. One could only imagine where such resources could be procured.

In 1970 the overall area of land irrigated in the USSR was approximately smaller than in the United States by a factor of 1.5. After investing huge funds in this area, in 1986 we outstripped the United States in terms of this indicator. Unfortunately, this did not lead us to reduce the gap in the production of the most important types of agricultural commodities. A reduction of capital investments in land reclamation by one third would enable us to release in an entire range of related sectors more than 500,000 workers, 2.4 million tons of coal, 3.3 million tons of petroleum, 3.4 billion kilowatt hours of electric power, 2.1 million tons of cement and 2.5 million tons of prestressed reinforced concrete.

Last year the total cost of industrial construction projects of the USSR Minvudkhoz, included in the plan, totaled 29.6 billion rubles. The ministry is not even trying to explain the return on funds invested in this area. The data showing that one third of the crops grown are on reclaimed land simply have nothing to do with the matter. To consider land reclamation workers as producers of the entire crop grown on reclaimed land is as erroneous as to believe that road workers account for the entire amount of goods hauled along the roads. However, the Minvudkhoz was not asked to prove anything. The essential difference between this ministry and the Minselkhoz mash, for example, is that it does not have to sell its output to anyone. It itself places orders, designs and builds. And we know that, as in the past, the Minvudkhoz is maintained with state budget funds.

VI.

The scale of our country triggers in many people the concept of the inexhaustible nature of state budget resources and the fact that the state budget could compensate for any losses and consequences of any type of negligence. The real situation in the country is quite different. As we know, currently the USSR Ministry of Finance is working on a program for financial recovery. In discussing it, it would be useful to recall the resolution of the 11th Party Congress "On Financial Policy," which noted as follows: "In the struggle against the budget deficit we must proceed, above all, from the clear awareness that the Soviet state does not have sufficient economic and, specifically, financial resources to support this entire huge administrative and economic apparatus which it inherited from the preceding period and the maintenance of which, at that time, was achieved through methods inapplicable under the conditions of the new period..." The task was to "relieve" the Soviet state radically and within the shortest possible time.

At the very start of implementation of the NEP, V.I. Lenin drew attention to the need to abandon any type of economic activity for which the necessary conditions were unavailable, and to concentrate resources on enterprises operating under the best circumstances (see *Poln. Sobr. Soch.* [Complete Collected Works], vol 43, p 258).

Despite the obvious difference between the present economic situation and that at the start of the 1920s, here as well clear parallels are visible.

For a long time one may create the appearance of progress against a background of worsening disproportions and increase the production of commodities the quality of which does not meet even most modest requirements, report on increases in the national income, ignoring the fact that an increasing share of the output settles like dead weight as stockpiled commodity and material values. A number of steps, the implementation of which was continued in 1987, were bitter medicine needed to heal the economy from the old diseases. Without them it was impossible to create prerequisites for normal economic growth. State inspection made enterprise work more difficult. However, its introduction broke the durable prejudice of the inevitability of the production of substandard goods. If this step would enable us seriously to upgrade the quality of output, its long term positive results would unquestionably compensate for current losses. The policy of limiting loans forced enterprise managements to consider most seriously their financial situation, problems of ensuring solvent demand and the cost at which any increase in the volume of output is frequently achieved. As a result, working capital in stocks of commodity-material values in industry increased less rapidly than the volume of output and their turnover improved. This trend was noted for the third consecutive year. Until that time, for the 10 previous years, turnover in industry had been quickly declining. The area which absorbed a significant portion of the growth of output finally began to yield the accumulated resources.

The initiated economic reform is not a miracle which will allow us to solve all problems. It is taking place in an actual existing national economy with its production capital, disproportions, traditions and cadres, and additional resources will not be created immediately. However, the reform has already clearly highlighted the most pressing problems and allowed us to earmark the real ways of solving them and to create prerequisites for the necessary economic maneuvering. In order to use them, we must be ready to abandon erroneous decisions made at different times and under different situations. Financial recovery is impossible without overall economic recovery. We must comprehensively "relieve" the economy and free it from the ballast, drastically restricting all types of activities which do not yield adequate socioeconomic results. Having thus released the corresponding resources, a substantial amount of which may be found in our country, we can suitably meet the challenge of history.

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Realities of New Thinking; From Confrontation to Cooperation

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[Article by Edvard Arturovich Arab-Ogly, *KOMMUNIST* special correspondent at the Soviet-American Washington Summit; Washington-Moscow]

[Text] As more and more time separates us from the Washington meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and U.S. President Reagan, the accuracy of the way it was described last December, as being unprecedented in terms of historical significance, becomes increasingly clear. It is unprecedented because for the first time the two great powers reached an agreement not on limiting the nuclear arms race but on an actual reduction in nuclear armaments. It is historical because the results of this meeting could open the way to a gradual elimination of nuclear weapons which threatens life on earth. That is why the meeting in the American capital could be justifiably described as a prologue to a nuclear-free nonviolent world.

1

One could say that in practical terms meetings between the Soviet leadership and the American public began 1 week prior to the official start of the Washington talks. They started with a meeting between millions of American television viewers and the Soviet leader, interviewed on NBC. On the next day, when a large group of Soviet scientists-experts and journalists flew into Washington, it became immediately aware of the major impression which this interview had made in the United States. Whenever we spoke with Americans, the conversation invariably turned to the interview, the forthcoming meeting and the future of our relations. Judging by these talks, the thought which was becoming increasingly established in American public consciousness was that what unites them with the Soviet people should prevail over what divides them. In an article carried at that time in *THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE*, a view, previously considered "heretical" in the United States, was even quoted: "Although there is little essential similarity between the ideals of the puritans and the American revolutionaries of the 18th century and the Russian revolutionaries of the 19th and 20th centuries, their beliefs share one, albeit not obvious, but nonetheless important similarity, i.e., belief in the possibility of radically changing the society and giving the activities of the people a new direction, and that it is possible to reject the historical legacy of injustice, oppression and privation through human willpower and efforts."

Soon after our arrival we met with James Reston, the "patriarch" of American journalism. Today, he emphasized, there is a clear shift in Soviet-American relations from "cold war" to the start of a "new, great historical age of cooperation." Recalling the times when he was a

correspondent in Moscow in 1943, Reston expressed the hope that Soviet-American cooperation in solving the urgent problems of our time could be restored. "Both our countries need a philosophical agenda in order to determine entirely the point at which we would like to find ourselves by the end of the century." Asked about the possibility of a new style of political thinking in the United States, Reston enthusiastically answered that it is his deep conviction that most favorable grounds exist in America for the adoption of a new thinking consistent with the American tradition for renewal.

A public opinion survey conducted by *THE WASHINGTON POST* and by ABC confirmed the aspiration of the American people for peace and nuclear disarmament. The survey revealed that 52 percent of the respondents clearly favored the conclusion of a treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles and only 8 percent were against, whereas 40 percent claimed to be insufficiently informed to form an opinion. However, even they, in their overwhelming majority, were in favor of a treaty. Three out of five respondents had great hopes for the success of the summit talks; three-quarters assumed that they would be followed by further agreements on reducing armaments; two-thirds believed that both sides would equally benefit from this. In analyzing these figures *THE WASHINGTON POST* noted: "The survey indicated that support for the treaty enjoys a broad base in all parts of the country, among liberals as well as conservatives." Nonetheless, the newspaper cautioned that "some results of the survey also indicate that although as a whole the view on the treaty is positive, the public remains insufficiently well-informed about it, for which reason it could be manipulated easily; such factors may be used by the opponents of the agreement in the course of the debates on its ratification by the Senate."

As the opening of the summit approached, the struggle for influencing public opinion, waged between supporters and opponents of nuclear disarmament in the country, and of improving Soviet-American relations became increasingly fiercer, culminating on the very eve and during the meetings between the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and the U.S. President. Diplomatic protocol, political tactfulness and outward restraint in statements were abandoned by many American conservatives immediately after the first interview which Reagan gave on 3 December to the anchormen of the four major television networks in the United States.

The reason for the sharp conflict within the Republican Party and, on a broader base, between conservatives and liberals in the leading two political parties in the United States, on the treaty on the elimination of medium- and short-range missiles was best explained by the President himself in said television interview: "I assume that some of those people who are most opposed to it (to the treaty—author) and who even refuse to even accept the very idea that any reciprocal understanding may ever be reached, regardless of whether they realize it or not, essentially in the depth of their hearts such people

proceed from the fact that war is inevitable and that war between the two superpowers must break out." Reagan himself implied that the essential difference which appeared prior to the conclusion of the treaty had actually existed in the past as well. This marked a profound distinction in the views held by those who saw in the "dual solution" of 1979 and which led to the deployment of American Pershings and cruise missiles in Europe and, subsequently, the idea of the "zero option," a means of holding subsequent discussions on reducing nuclear armaments, and those who already then considered all of this a clever propaganda ploy, clearly aimed at misleading public opinion while actually aimed at achieving a strategic superiority for NATO over the Warsaw Pact.

The charges leveled at Reagan by the opponents of the treaty came essentially from the ranks of his own party and inflamed political passions to the utmost. Articles were published in the press comparing the summit with a "new Munich," and the policy of "pacifying the aggressor." On 7 December, when segments of a documentary on Japan's bombing of the American military base in Pearl Harbor in 1941 were shown on the occasion of the 46th anniversary of the United States' entry into World War II, an observer from the right-wing camp deemed it pertinent to compare this event, of tragic memory to the Americans, to signing the treaty on eliminating short- and medium-range nuclear missiles, which, it was claimed, would harm American military power to the same extent. The press carried "open letters" to Reagan and so-called "paid advertisements" spread over an entire column, in which on behalf of reactionary organizations and all kinds of committees, fabrications of the "Soviet menace," "communist expansionism" and other cold war bogeys were reproduced.

We realized, as THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote, that "Reagan knows better what is in the mind of the extreme right than does Senator Dole," who tried to speak out on their behalf, on the eve of a visit to the Council for American Security, which is an influential conservative organization. The head of the council, who is also co-chairman of the so-called "Coalition for Peace from a Position of Strength," John Fisher, described to us his credo politely but frankly: History teaches us that peace can be secured not by a balance of power, disarmament and control over it but only if one of the powers enjoys strategic superiority over the other, and thus can clearly predetermine the outcome of a war. In his view, he concluded, peace must rest on American power—military, economic and political. This doctrine was an embodiment of the nostalgia for the time when the ruling U.S. circles dreamed of establishing "Pax Americana" on earth, with which they would guide the destinies of other nations. However, the times for such illusions have irrevocably gone into the past.

2

In the course of their meetings, the heads of the two countries not only engaged in intensive talks but also repeatedly delivered speeches in which they expressed

their reciprocal aspiration for mutual understanding and trust, and the conviction that building a better world for the United States and the USSR, and for all mankind, is an entirely realistic historical possibility despite the fact that our countries function under different social systems.

As was emphasized at the summit, the substantial differences in outlook, philosophical concepts and principles of social organization dividing the two great powers should not be an obstacle to radical improvements in Soviet-American relations. "We realize," M.S. Gorbachev said at the ceremony which marked the opening of the summit, "that we are separated not only by oceans but also by profound historical, ideological, socioeconomic and cultural differences." However, he went on to say, "The wisdom of contemporary politics is not to make use of such differences as a pretext for confrontation, hostility and arms race."

The new political thinking is at the base of the initiated turn from confrontation to cooperation between the two great powers—directly in relations between them and in the world arena—in solving pressing global problems of our time. It proceeds from the entirely new and unprecedented situation which developed at the end of our century, from the priority of universal interests and values which do not demand of either side to abandon its beliefs and principles but which presumes a reciprocal consideration of each other not as enemies but as partners, united above all in the objective such as the survival of mankind under conditions of mutually guaranteed security for all countries and nations.

In his time, V.I. Lenin proclaimed the principle of peaceful coexistence, considering it a solid and most sensible foundation in our time for relations between countries belonging to different social systems. Whereas in the first decades after the October Revolution this principle was considered essentially a means of creating favorable foreign policy conditions for building socialism in our country (although even then it went far beyond this purpose), it has become obvious today that peaceful coexistence is a necessary condition, an **urgent imperative for the survival of human civilization as a whole**, and for the preservation of life on our planet. It was precisely Lenin who originated this exceptionally perceptive idea, the entire depth and significance of which we can realize only now. According to N.K. Krupskaya, as early as 1918, V.I. Lenin predicted that "there will come a time when war will become so destructive as to be impossible in general." This time occurred after the creation of nuclear weapons and the monstrous stockpile of such weapons in the arsenals of the great powers. Under these circumstances, securing peace through military might and the aspiration to gain strategic superiority and apply political diktat became absurd.

The public speeches made by the heads of the two great powers during their meeting contained a great deal of instructive historical parallels, impressive metaphors

and original views which are still being echoed by the mass information media throughout the world. However, these speeches were not a contest of eloquence but assertions of a new style of thinking in the practice of international relations. Restructuring and new thinking and democratization and glasnost, although physically invisible perhaps, nonetheless most actively participated, quite realistically and tangibly, in the Washington talks. Having provided our society with a powerful impetus for a dynamic and revolutionary socialist renovation, they were manifested in their entire magnitude in the international arena as well, clearly confirming thereby that foreign policy is a direct extension of domestic policy. It became obvious to the global and the American public that a meeting was taking place in Washington not only with the new Soviet leadership but also with the Soviet Union as a great modern power, which was undergoing a renovation and was unlike the stereotyped concepts of it.

During one of the receptions, I had a long talk with Richard Perle, former assistant secretary of defense for international security, a person who is justifiably considered the "architect of the policy from the position of strength." The conversation turned to his "Memorandum to President Reagan," which had just been published in a number of American and other Western media. In it Perle expressed the fear that the signing of a treaty for the elimination of short- and medium-range nuclear missiles would cause more problems related to European security than would solve them. In the course of the talk we nonetheless agreed with him that the most important feature in Soviet-American relations is that the new problems which would arise between the great powers should be fewer than those which could be solved in the course of the talks.

The principle of deideologization of intergovernmental relations, which was formulated and substantiated in many countries, including the United States, in M.S. Gorbachev's *Restructuring and New Thinking for Our Country and for the Entire World*, was of exceptional importance to the successful outcome of the Washington summit. This principle expands Lenin's ideas of peaceful coexistence as applicable to the new historical realities of the nuclear age and the establishment of a largely united, interdependent and integral world. Deideologization of intergovernmental relations does not mean in the least abandoning social ideals or a class approach to international relations. However, this principle is opposed by still popular Western concepts of ideology as a kind of "worldly religion," and views expressed by reactionary political experts, according to which differences in outlooks are bound inevitably to lead the nations into bloodshedding "religious wars," similar to those which were fought in Europe during the Reformation.

Many opponents of halting the arms race and improving the international situation continue to cling to such ideas. For example, on the cover of its issue on the Washington summit, the French weekly L'EXPRESS

printed the aphorism of the famous French philosopher Raymond Aron: "Peace is impossible and war is incredible," interpreting it as though one should not expect of the summit any changes in Soviet-American relations. However, the journal abstained from quoting a more realistic view expressed by Aron in his latest book *Memoirs*. In this book, which he completed shortly before his death, he cautioned the Western government leaders against the danger of ideology and politics of a "crusade" against communism. The Western countries, he emphasized, cannot allow themselves to "ignore the internal system of countries with which they engage in talks; however, nor could they and, even more so, nor should they mount a crusade for the sake of disseminating their own social institutions." To oppose a social system which is considered a "social evil," he concluded, means to let oneself become involved in political adventures through aggressive tactics or else doom oneself to defeat by adopting a defensive tactic. To this day as well many people in the West could learn a useful lesson from such views expressed by this French philosopher who was by no means a leftist.

The meetings between the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and the leadership of the U.S. Congress, representatives of business circles, heads of the major mass information media and noted American public personalities, scientists, writers, and artists who influence the shaping, policies, way of thinking and moods in the society, were of great importance to the future of Soviet-American relations.

John Kenneth Galbraith, the world-famous economist and author of many books, some of which published in our country, emphasized in his conversation with us the exceptionally fruitful nature of the meeting: it gives the hope that the threat of a world thermonuclear war would be eliminated, a war as a result of which "no one would be able to separate the ashes of capitalism from the ashes of communism." It is time for our countries to stop economically ruining themselves for the sake of unrealistic goals and turn to peaceful constructive objectives.

S. Cohen, author of works on the history of Soviet society, including a biography of N.I. Bukharin, said that he had been very favorably impressed by the meeting. We must become more familiar with our reciprocal histories. The histories of our countries, freed from "blank spots" and distortions, would help both Americans and Soviet people to abandon common prejudices and better to understand one another, which will bring them closer to each other. As a specialist in the history of Soviet society, Cohen emphasized, I am particularly pleased by the radical changes, restructuring and glasnost, which are taking place in your country, and which encourage us to look optimistically at the future.

The Soviet Union and the United States bear particular responsibility for the prevention of a global thermonuclear war and for safeguarding peace on our planet.

Proportionally to their political importance and international authority, these countries must make the greatest contribution to strengthening global safety, solving regional conflicts and ensuring reciprocal understanding and peaceful cooperation among all countries. Not only the Soviet and American peoples but the people of good will the world over invested a great deal of hope in the summit. This hope was justified, having radically changed the overall international political climate for the better.

In one of his speeches in the course of the meeting, Reagan said: "One hundred and fifty years ago, the noted Frenchman de Toqueville wisely predicted that our two countries would become the biggest and most important countries in the world. History, geography, rich resources and the stubborn work of our peoples made this possible." As we know, the founders of Marxism highly valued the theoretical legacy of the French historians of the age of the Restoration, who had contributed so greatly to understanding the nature of social progress. One of them was also Toqueville, who emphasized in his book *On Democracy in America*, that despite all the turns of history mankind would move ahead.

It would be equally pertinent to recall that 3 decades before Toqueville analogous thoughts on the historical similarity and common destinies of our countries had been expressed by V.F. Malinovskiy, the outstanding Russian enlightener-democrat who, incidentally, was the author of one of the first plans for an *Eternal Peace*, (along with Ch. Saint-Pierre, J.-J. Rousseau, I. Kant and J. Bentam). In the preface to the work *On the Usefulness of Manufacture*, by Alexander Hamilton, one of the "founding fathers" of the United States, he had translated in 1807, he pointed out the striking similarity existing between Russia and the United States, "both in terms of space, climate and nature, as well as considerations of the inconsistency between the available space and the population and the youth of a variety of universally useful institutions."

In the past 2 centuries the history of our countries largely confirmed such anticipations. The Soviet and American peoples have never fought against each other. During the struggle waged by the American states for independence and the Civil War in the United States, in the mid-19th century, Russia assumed a position of positive neutrality toward the United States. The abolition of serfdom in Russia and of slavery in the United States almost coincided chronologically. Our two countries were allies in both the first and second World Wars and even decades of cold war were unable to eliminate from the awareness of our nations the period of mutual sympathy.

The similarity between our countries, actually, is by no means exhausted merely by historical recollections and formal analogies. Both the Soviet and American peoples are multinational communities. Either metaethnic (as ethnographers define it) social community develop, naturally, in its own original historical way. Essentially the

cultures of our two countries are related to European civilization and trace their origins to antiquity. The heritage of the age of humanism and the Enlightenment continues to have a durable influence on the spiritual lives of the Soviet and American peoples. Both Soviet and American people share close social values, such as the right of every individual to freedom and the aspiration to happiness, the ideals of social equality and the ability of the people to govern themselves; they ascribe great importance to individual initiative, enterprise and human inventiveness. Nonetheless, it is obvious that **we must not belittle, not to mention deny, the profound differences which exist between our societies in terms of means which can embody such ideals in life and the social mechanisms for combining individual with public interests.**

The new thinking is incompatible with the dislike of one nation toward another and mistrust and suspicion which poison their relations, or the "image of the enemy," painted by one of the sides, and the mentality of "hostile encirclement" and "fortress under siege." In this respect as well the summit became an important historical accomplishment by significantly dispersing reciprocal prejudices.

In the aftermath of that meeting, as THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE noted, the ghost of the "Soviet menace" and "Soviet expansionism" lost its plausibility among the American public. A certain change took place in the Soviet Union concerning the American people: "In time historians will assess the entire irony contained in the fact that after 7 years of intensive growth of armaments, aimed at blocking any assumed Soviet threat, the Americans are by no means inclined to consider the Russians as the greatest danger." Other moods toward the USSR are making their way among them, with a hopeful warming up in Soviet-American relations.

3

The successful conclusion of the Washington summit introduced an unusual shift in the traditional deployment of forces between political rivals—republicans and democrats—and between conservatives and liberals within both parties. Reagan who, subsequent to the "Iran-Contras" scandal, was considered by many a "lame-duck" (a political idiom applied to a president who has lost real power in the country) regained his previous prestige and popularity in the eyes of the public. However, the Republican Party proved to be divided like never before in the past.

Currently, in the circumstances of the electoral campaign, which has already begun, for all practical purposes, and which promises to be particularly tense and sharp, a largely paradoxical situation has developed in the U.S. political arena. Although according to a public survey supporters of the Soviet-American treaty on

short- and medium-range nuclear missiles clearly predominates among the rank-and-file republican voters, the attitude toward it in the upper party echelons is different. Only one of the five candidates for Republican Party nomination for the forthcoming presidential elections of the autumn of 1988—Vice President George Bush—has invariably supported this treaty; Robert Dole, the leader of the republicans in the Senate, had taken a very evasive position until the summit, whereas the remaining candidates had criticized it sharply. The rank-and-file democratic voters, according to the survey, were somewhat less enthusiastic about the treaty, whereas the party's leadership and the overwhelming majority of senators supported it actively.

The path to the Washington summit was hard and twisting. It followed a complex geographic and dizzying political itinerary, important landmarks in which were Geneva and Reykjavik. This treaty, along with other important agreements which were achieved as a result of the summit talks became possible thanks to the new thinking and daring foreign policy initiatives of the Soviet Union. However we do not intend to belittle the counterinitiatives and steps taken by the other side. Not only in order to lead the world into war but also for purposes of international confrontation, the ill will of even one side would suffice whereas reciprocal understanding and cooperation presume the good will of both. That is why it would be naive to assume that all that was needed for the successful implementation of the agreements achieved at the Washington summit and in the subsequent major steps toward nuclear disarmament and a radical improvement in Soviet-American relations as be a new thinking on our part. Such new thinking is vitally needed to both great powers. In the future as well we hope that it will be increasingly adopted by our partners in international relations.

As we know, the Reagan administration has its own version of the essence and origins of the talks which ended with the conclusion of the treaty, according to which they can be traced to the "zero option," suggested by the President as early as 1981. Since this version is considered so important as a substantial argument in favor of the ratification of the treaty by the U.S. Senate, it would be inappropriate to dispute it, although it does not appear all that convincing to us. In any case, who was the first to use the expression "zero option" is not all that important. What is incomparably more important is to pay attention to the fact that the treaty concluded in Washington goes incomparably beyond a reduction of nuclear armaments between two great powers, compared to the initial suggestion of a "zero option," for it stipulates the elimination not of one but of two types of missiles, i.e., it is a "double zero," applicable not only to Europe but to all of the USSR and the United States. In other words, it is a "global zero option" for the two nuclear powers. Furthermore, this treaty stipulates the type of verification methods of the nuclear disarmament process which were inconceivable only a few years back. Such verification and control measures not only increase

confidence in relations between the great powers but are also an agreed-upon mechanism which significantly facilitates the process of further nuclear disarmament and subsequent elimination of chemical weapons and reduction of conventional armaments.

One of the important accords and essential agreements achieved at the Washington summit is the reciprocal obligation to accelerate and intensify talks on reducing strategic offensive nuclear armaments by 50 percent, in such a way that a corresponding treaty could be concluded during the visit which President Reagan will pay to Moscow in the first half of 1988.

The leaders of the USSR and the United States have agreed that the process of nuclear disarmament should take place under the conditions of preserving strategic stability and strictly observing the 1972 ABM Treaty for an agreed upon and mutually acceptable term. In the joint Soviet-American summit declaration, M.S. Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan confirmed their aspiration to radically improve relations between the USSR and the United States and to prevent a military confrontation between them, whether nuclear or conventional: "They are convinced that by this token they will also contribute, together with other countries and nations, to building a safer world in a period during which mankind will be entering its 3rd millennium."

The summit meeting clearly proved that the program for the gradual elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, which was formulated 2 years ago in the declaration of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, is not a utopian but an entirely attainable, a realistic objective. At the press conference on the Washington meeting, M.S. Gorbachev said: "When we issued the 15 January declaration and submitted our plan for the gradual elimination of nuclear weapons and reducing the military confrontation in all areas, a number of people called this an illusion. Today life has shamed such forecasters."

By the time this issue has gone to press the process of ratification of the treaty on the elimination of short- and medium-range nuclear missiles will have already begun in the U.S. Senate and, as is expected, will continue through March and April. Today even the most militant opponents of the treaty, thoroughly weighing the preferences of the senators, do not hope that the Senate will reject it. Nonetheless, they are still hoping that in the course of the ratification they would be able to tag on amendments and, if possible, "killing" stipulations which would require a subsequent resumption of talks on the treaty between the USSR and the United States. The more sensible opponents of the treaty, such as Ben Skawcroft, former White House advisor, however, caution that its rejection by the Senate would lead to a catastrophic decline of the political prestige of the United States in the eyes both of its allies and world public opinion. Other supporters of the policy "from a position of strength," forced to reconcile themselves

with the treaty, conjure the Reagan administration to consider it not as the "first" but as the "last step" in the reduction of nuclear armaments.

Nonetheless, a turn toward improved Soviet-American relations as a result of the Washington summit has unquestionably taken place. It has been approved by the peoples of the two great powers and by the international public. The process of the ratification of the treaty and the discussion of subsequent steps, aimed at radically curtailing nuclear armaments and improving the international situation as a whole, will take place this year not only within the legislative institutions of the USSR and the United States or in conference rooms but also in the world arena, within the general context of the foreign policies of both countries. The enactment of the treaty will depend on the mutual trust of either side and their active contribution toward reaching a just and peaceful solution of grave regional conflicts on the basis of national conciliation, their growing reciprocal understanding and cooperation in solving the global problems of mankind and, finally, the consideration of the basic interests of other nations, of the entire global community.

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Juridical Science and Practice Under Conditions of Restructuring

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[Continued publication of answers to questions asked in *KOMMUNIST* (Nos 14, 15 and 18 for 1987)]

[Text] V.V. Lazarev, doctor of juridical sciences, professor, department chief, USSR MVD Academy:

1. The discussion of topical problems of the development of juridical science and practice in *KOMMUNIST* indicates an acknowledgment of the social significance and gravity of the problems in this area. Restructuring in the juridical area is a most important prerequisite for the further democratization of our society and one of its main guarantees.

Unfortunately, neither in the article by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law nor the questions presented for discussion emphasize the state as the object of juridical science. The study of the state and of state-study practices seems to be totally unrelated to juridical science. Clearly, the fault for such a situation lies in the actual state of affairs, for the current practice of solving governmental matters most frequently without the participation of jurists can be classified only as strange. So far, our propaganda naively assumes that it would compromise the U.S. Congress in the eyes of the working people by pointing out the large number of

lawyers among its members. The broadest possible toiling masses can and must manage the socialist state. However, in order to ensure efficient law-making and skillful application of the right of workers participating in it, specialized legal training is necessary.

Nonetheless, in my view, the state authorities and agencies of state administration, these basic centers of the state mechanism, are still insufficiently relying on juridical science. The implementation of the concept of a socialist state of law must in fact cover the activities of all state authorities and not be reduced, as is frequently the case, only to the traditional requirements of observing the law in the activities of law enforcement institutions.

That is why we cannot properly assess the role of legislation in the restructuring of society and define the optimal trends of restructuring in the juridical area and finding means of ensuring the observance of the law, and so on, without solving at least problems pertaining to the following: 1. The nature of the actual state authorities at the different stages in building socialism; 2. Temporary and political-legal forms of completing the building of a state of the whole people; 3. The correlation between the professional and social principles in the activities of the socialist state, administrative and self-governing forms and institutions, and legislative, executive and judicial powers.

In both theory and practice we would like to see a more balanced evaluation of the role of legislation in restructuring the economy and the other areas of social life. In my view Professor S.S. Alekseyev excessively exaggerates the role of law and juridical mechanisms by saying that it is precisely they "that can ascribe an irreversible nature to restructuring," and "can break the obstruction mechanism" (*KOMMUNIST*, No 15, 1987 p 89). The law is a strong but not an omnipotent instrument.

2. I am very apprehensive of the idea of an overall legal reform. Naturally, it is necessary to clean the Augean stables and to make legislation consistent with the new social requirements. However, the question always comes down to the implementation of the laws. By whom and how will this be accomplished?

The most radical trend in restructuring the legal area, in my deep conviction, is the transition, metaphorically speaking, from a "state of laws" to a "state of philosophers," of knowledgeable, competent and highly moral people, who can assert social justice in each specific case. Alas, the level of the general, political and legal standards today is such that a conversion of this nature may be postponed to the very distant future.

Most frequently, and not without reason, a legal reform is linked to the application of the principle that "everything which is not prohibited is permitted." Of late this principle has been persistently sounded in the articles by

scientists, journalists and party and state leaders. However, no specialist has as yet unfortunately analyzed its real implementation in the various areas of social life and as applicable to the various participants in socialist legal relations. Yet the effect of said principle cannot be unlimited. First of all, the activities of state authorities, officials and organizations, considering their special position and functions, are structured essentially on the basis of a different principle: "That which is allowed is permitted." Second, the area of civil-legal relations rests, as we know, on the possibility of using analogies in the interpretation of the law and in legal practices. That is why it is considered entirely legitimate and admissible to forbid certain actions to a citizen and even to subject him to civil prosecution if a law which bans actions similar to those under consideration is on the books. The existence of gaps in our legislation, however, is totally ignored today by the majority of commentators on the Law on Individual Labor Activity. The unconditional assertion of the principle that "everything which is not prohibited is permitted" would deprive totally of its meaning the institution of the rights and freedoms of citizens, including basic ones: Why enumerate them if anything which is not prohibited is allowed?

3. We must draft and adopt a uniform law which would streamline control-supervisory activities, their foundations, procedure, forms and range of authorized individuals. Its concept must be the following: total control over publicly significant activities, glasnost, lack of forbidden areas, democracy and unity of objectives and principles.

Constitutional control over ensuring legality in the activities of all authorities and institutions must become the peak of control-supervisory activities. Overall supervision by the prosecutor's office—something which is now becoming increasingly obvious—proved helpless in the face of departmental violations of the law.

4. The main guarantees for the strict observance of legality in all matters is the true and not fictitious autonomy of law enforcement authorities, balance and reciprocal restraint, their strict observance of the law and their high responsibility to it.

The position of the courts in the system of relations between the citizen and the state greatly changes with the adoption of the law on seeking judicial redress of illegal actions committed by officials. The other law enforcement authorities must also enhance their activities in safeguarding the legitimate rights and interests of the citizens.

5. Legal training alienated from life and practical activities is the equivalent of scholastic education. However, neither education nor science should follow in the tail end of practice. Since our society has undertaken a restructuring and is concerned with accelerating its development, state-legal practice must be anticipated by 50 percent in education and 100 percent in science. They must be dialectically critical toward what is taking place

within the authorities and the administration, the courts or the internal-affairs agencies. Higher legal training, unlike secondary specialized training, cannot be narrowly specialized. A high level of humanitarian knowledge, and a vast scope and depth of historical and political approaches are mandatory prerequisites in the training of a modern specialist.

6. All sensible and accessible present means are good for upgrading legal standards. V.I. Lenin cautioned against the impossibility of decreeing the necessary cultural standard of the law. The increased standard of society is a natural, an objective process. If the way of life of the people is oriented toward lofty ideals and values, and if society has created conditions in which, without proper knowledge and ability a person is unable to assume a high official position, and if a narrow outlook and scant intellect inevitably lead to a fiasco in life, one can rest assured that both officials and ordinary citizens will find access to knowledge, including knowledge of the law. If we insist on mandatory juridical universal training, we risk to compromise a good project. That is why I am in favor of optional courses for upgrading the skill of all categories of Soviet officials at schools, institutes, enterprises and skill upgrading courses. Legal training is efficient if it is related to the general and the professional interests of the trainees themselves.

A.A. Agzamkhodzhayev, corresponding member, Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, doctor of juridical sciences, head of the department of administrative and financial law, school of law, Tashkent State University imeni V.I. Lenin, and **V.N. Stasko**, candidate of juridical sciences, docent in the same department:

2. The need for a profound reinterpretation of many durable concepts in juridical science and existing practices is justifiably noted in the article "Juridical Science and Practice Under Conditions of Restructuring" (KOMMUNIST, No 14, 1987).

Exaggerating accomplishments and the aspiration to present a wish as reality have been reflected, to our general regret, in the USSR Constitution as well. Could we entirely agree with the idea that a developed socialist society has already been built in the USSR, in which mature socialist relations exist? To what extent are such concepts consistent with the new draft of the CPSU program? Are they consistent with the real situation? We believe that problems which are being solved in the course of the current revolutionary changes and the political concepts on which they are based should be codified in the country's Fundamental Law. The constitution must also reflect the idea of a general legal reform.

As we know, the USSR Constitution (Article 6) stipulates that the CPSU, which is the nucleus of the political system of Soviet society, exists for the sake of the people and serves the people. This supreme legislative stipulation has been, for the first time, enlarged with the

concept included in the party program to the effect that "the party will continue to act in a spirit of high responsibility to the people."

Therefore, a real reflection of the role of the CPSU could be formulated constitutionally as follows: "The CPSU exists for the people. It serves the people and is responsible to the people." Incidentally, in our view it would be entirely appropriate to introduce a constitutional norm on a loyalty oath to the people taken by the leaders of the supreme state authorities and administration in assuming their position.

The current constitution has by no means exhausted its legislative potential. For example, we cannot fail to notice that some of its stipulations have not been adequately embodied in the laws passed by the high state authorities. In particular, the law on the referendum and the possibility of fully implementing Article 58 of the USSR Constitution is unclear. The 30 June 1987 law "On the Procedure for Appealing in Court Improper Actions by Officials Harming the Rights of Citizens," was amended before it could even be enacted. Further amendments are planned for the future as well. We believe that some of the many reasons for this situation include the insufficient consideration of the various solutions suggested by legal scientists and practical workers. In general, we must note that the recommendations of legal experts are quite frequently ignored by the law-making authorities. Unless this situation is ended, one could hardly speak of restructuring in the legal area.

Furthermore, the Fundamental Law guarantees, in particular, freedom of assembly, meetings, and street marches and demonstrations (Article 50). Some executive committees of local soviets, however, have passed resolutions on this subject. Such practices cannot be considered normal. We believe that the procedure for the exercise of said fundamental freedoms is not subject to "local interpretation." It must be defined with a legislative act of the USSR. Under the conditions of the further democratization of social life and the development of glasnost this may also require the codification in the USSR Constitution of the right of citizens to information pertaining to their rights, freedoms and legitimate interests.

A constitutional control of the foundations of the social system and policy and relations between the individual and the state must be based on a consideration of the objectives and tasks of the contemporary stage in the development of Soviet society—its revolutionary restructuring.

V.I. Chernyshov, chairman of the Presidium of the Ulyanovsk Oblast Bar Collegium:

4. This response describes the position held by the Presidium of the Ulyanovsk Oblast Bar Collegium, which discussed the materials published in the section "Discussions and Debates" in issues Nos 14, 15 and 18 of this journal for 1987.

We, practicing lawyers, who are called upon by virtue of our activities to defend the rights of citizens accused of violations of the law and of crimes, are particularly excited by the problem of observing legality in each criminal case without exception.

A certain change is currently taking place in the approach taken by the courts to the evaluation of proof submitted by inquest and preliminary investigation personnel. This is confirmed by examples of prosecutor's practices in 1986-1987, with which we are familiar by virtue of the nature of our work and from the central press: sentences are being rescinded and criminal trials halted in the case of the people who were illegally sentenced 3 or even 5 years ago to long terms in jail for crimes they did not commit.

The materials of such criminal cases indicate that at the initial stage of the investigation virtually all people indicted for committing most severe crimes admitted to things they did not do. In court and, subsequently, in their petitions some of them reported how "admissions" were being extracted (in the direct meaning of the term). However, at that time no reaction to such admissions by the people from whom they were "extracted" followed.

To this day no one has been held responsible for illegal sentencing, after the sentences have been rescinded and the innocent have been released from the penal colonies, with the exception that on one occasion one of the investigators was fired. However, he was not alone in such activities! Who will answer for the fact that innocent people spent years wasting in jail, for their ruined lives or for their loss of faith in justice and legality? Facts of this nature are too numerous throughout the country to be left unnoticed.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Further Strengthening of Socialist Legality and Law and Order and Strengthening the Protection of the Rights and Legitimate Interests of Citizens" notes that "each case a violation of legality, whoever may have committed it, should be given a principle-minded sharp assessment and strictly condemned, and the culprits punished most severely."

The legislative codification of this political demand would most substantially influence the strengthening of legality in the activities of the militia, the courts and the prosecutor's office. The systematic implementation of the principle of personal responsibility for violating the law could cool off the zeal of those who, in pursuit of high percentages of detecting crimes, themselves violate the laws. This will unquestionably awaken from their bureaucratic slumber officials in the courts and the prosecutor's office who, to this day, continue to rubber-stamp answers to investigation complaints, citing lack of proof in appeals of illegal sentences, in the belief that if subsequently such grounds are indeed found, they personally would not bear any responsibility whatsoever for their formalistic approach to reviewing complaints.

The central press is currently engaged in an extensive discussion of the point at which the lawyer should become involved in the criminal process. The ideal choice, in our view, is his participation starting with the first interrogation of individuals suspected of having committed a crime. Otherwise the situation which is quite widespread at present in cases involving minors, who are not detained, will continue. As a rule, they are interrogated as witnesses for the virtually entire duration of the criminal investigation. Two or 3 days before the end of the investigation, after a charge has been filed, they are already interrogated as defendants and that very same day the end of the investigation is announced. This reduces the role of the defender to a minimum, that of partially participating in a single investigation and trying, within an extremely short period of time to absorb all the materials of the case and present his objections which, incidentally, investigators reject under the slightest pretext, pleading lack of time to study them.

In speaking of increasing the rights of the defense, we must not ignore the article by Professor A.D. Boykov in *KOMMUNIST* No 18. His reference to the summed up practice of the 1970s confirming the low quality of the work of attorneys is as unconvincing as his considerations on the need to balance the earnings of lawyers and other jurists, including prosecutors. Lawyers' earnings come from the clients and entail no expenditures to the state whatsoever. Unquestionably, limiting the earnings of the attorney, particularly in the course of the preliminary investigation, lowers his interest and the possibility of increasing his participation at this stage of the criminal process, which is obviously to the advantage precisely of the opponents of broadening such participation. We should also point out, in replying to A.D. Boykov, that the salaries of some prosecution workers are significantly higher than the earnings of lawyers. As to the work load of a defender, who works alone, compared to the personnel of an influential prosecution group, which has the support of all governmental services, it may be quite heavy.

Increasing the rights of lawyers in a criminal trial is a very serious, difficult and important matter, and we hope that in the course of the forthcoming changes in the criminal-procedure legislation, it would be solved positively.

The bar is profoundly interested in establishing its own social union. Life itself, we believe, has led it to ask for it. In our view, the Soviet Bar Association should be a public organization free from a cumbersome bureaucratic apparatus, with the right to initiate legislation and which would efficiently solve or hope to solve all pressing bar problems, having united on a democratic basis all bar collegiums in the country.

For it is no secret that today the bar obtains from the Ministry of Justice miserable help in its daily activities. The lawyers themselves somehow "intercooperate,"

exchanging method aids, recommendations, texts of lectures, and so on, and sharing experience. As a rule, all of this takes place without the participation of the ministry.

5. The present requirements are clearly inconsistent, above all, with the level of training of lawyers by correspondence. In frequent cases such specialists must complete their training "on the march." Obviously, it is time to consider the problem in general and to decide whether we could keep in responsible positions lawyers who have no more than a passing grade on their diploma, i.e., who at best have only a "satisfactory" knowledge of the law. For it is precisely such "specialists" who, landing a job in a court or a prosecutor's office, are the ones who make the greatest number of errors which are paid for in ruined or even lost lives. We believe that it would be just to forbid poorly trained jurists (something which could be determined not only by looking at their diplomas but also in the course of their certification) to assume positions such as investigators, judges, prosecutors or defenders. They should work for several years as legal council in production enterprises and fill the gaps in their knowledge and only then, depending on an investigation of their knowledge and skills by a special commission consisting of leading oblast or kray jurists, should they be allowed to assume responsible positions in the justice system. Such a procedure would provide a major guarantee for preventing the frequently irreparable harm which the actions of ignorant jurists cause to society.

A.F. Zelinskiy, doctor of juridical sciences, professor, Kharkov Juridical Institute:

2. Under the conditions of the democratization and humanizing of our society, we must unquestionably review some stipulations of criminal and corrective labor legislation. It would be useful to remember the relatively recent past in this connection. For example, the current RSFSR Criminal Code was enacted on 1 January 1961, and already by 25 July 1962 many of its articles were substantially amended. Such work is continuing to this day and little remains of the initial draft. The same has been noted in all union republics.

Some of the most important laws have been redrafted repeatedly. For example, the possibility of releasing an inmate on parole has been increased or, conversely, curtailed. Not so long ago some categories of felons were deprived of the right to be paroled. Nor can they rely today on being transferred to a settlement colony. This can hardly contribute to their rehabilitation. I profoundly believe that humaneness and pedagogical optimism, which are inherent in the Soviet corrective labor policy, conflict with the practice of formally classifying some inmates as particularly dangerous recidivists. Such branding of criminals, which takes us back to the Middle Ages, looks like a stupid anachronism at the end of the 20th century and clashes with the humane nature of

socialism. Most importantly, however, such a step prevents any adaptation to ordinary "free" living conditions and leads to the commission of new crimes.

For some time settlement colonies have been extensively used for the rehabilitation of people sentenced to deprivation of freedom for crimes committed by negligence or even a number of malicious crimes not considered severe. Most residents of such colonies do not require any lengthy corrective labor regime. At the same time, their separation from their families and habitual occupations for lengthy periods of time, unskilled labor, the adverse moral and psychological climate and the actual lack of control over their behavior create a real danger that a "one-time" criminal, if one may describe him as such, may turn into a repeater. The list of rather questionable new developments applied in the recent past, some of which entirely unexpected, could be extended.

This can be largely explained by the fact that for many years the scholastic approach to current legislation and a dogmatic research method predominated in the theory of criminal law. Today as well we have by no means been able to eliminate such "ills." I believe that it is only comprehensive studies of problems related to crime and punishment, the personality of the criminal and the means of correcting him with the help of sociological and psychological methods could lead to the drafting of good laws.

The article drafted by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law justly points out the need for a decisive restructuring of legal thinking. One of the areas of such restructuring is changing the attitude of jurists toward the science of psychology. For quite some time the accusation of excessive "psychologizing" of legal phenomena has been considered a serious charge, although no one has been able to prove how the study of psychological laws governing human behavior can threaten the law and legality and in what cases could the thorough involvement of a lawyer in psychology be considered excessive.

The present psychological foundation of the theory of crime and punishment, which has gained full acceptance, is obviously obsolete. This theory, which was a legacy of the old classical school, remains on the level of concepts which prevailed in the 19th century. As was the case in ancient times, criminal behavior is considered as being mandatorily deliberate and malicious. The authors of monographs and lectures stubbornly refuse to note that today the majority of so-called situational crimes are impulsive. Contributory to this fact are some new manifestations in contemporary life, which cause nervousmental disturbances, alcoholism and drug addiction. Identifying the complex and contradictory human mind with awareness has long been rejected in psychology. It leads to efforts to treat the individual as a cybernetic system. In turn, this is grounds for an orientation toward punishment as a step which yields general prevention results. Hence the theoretical justification of the refusal

to use short jail terms, which is a tried means of influencing the "accidental" criminal and does not require his readaptation to society. These and other problems demand a new approach today.

V.T. Gerasimov, pilot first class, candidate of technical sciences, member of the Soviet International Law Association:

2, 3. One of the main trends in the restructuring of our legal system is the thorough study of the existing and the formulation of new and more advanced legal standards, consistent with contemporary requirements, related to the use of equipment. I would like to point out one of the aspects of departmental law-making, the great harm of which has been the subject of a great deal and just discussion and writing of late.

It would be expedient, I believe, to stipulate measures of criminal liability for substandard and wrong recommendations contained in documents governing the use of equipment, as a result of which accidents may occur and multiply. What makes this even more necessary is that the cost of human error—by the operator of a modern machine complex—is increasing steadily. For that reason the likelihood of error, from which no person is ensured in principle, should be reduced to a minimum either through the actions of other people or through providing reliable technical solutions. Both must be stipulated in corresponding documents. I can judge of the vital nature of such requirements in an area with which I am familiar—aviation.

Thus, investigations of most air accidents have shown substantial shortcomings in operational documents which have accompanied, contributed to and, in some cases, even been the main reason for an accident. Such documents are drafted and approved on the higher levels of sectorial management, i.e., by those who investigate the accidents and issue orders based on the results of the investigation. Therefore, both managers and active participants in departmental rule-making remain "out of sight," and continue to display the lack of necessary responsibility, as practical experience has confirmed, in terms of the formulation of instructions. Furthermore, the judges most frequently punish the so-called direct culprits for the accident, the "switchman," as it were, who in frequent cases is less a criminal than a victim of technically substandard instructions. That is why the real reason for accidents remains unclear and, therefore, accidents are repeated.

A number of complex psychological situations arise in handling equipment, the study of which is still in its embryonic stage. The shortage or lack of time, the psychological burden of assuming great responsibility for decisions and subsequent actions, maximal concentration of attention and intensive mental work, high degree of readiness for nonstandard decisions and actions or, conversely, the monotony of operations, which lower the threshold of attention, the so-called psychology of

boredom, are all things which really exist in daily practice and the influence of such factors cannot be ignored. We are still insufficiently familiar with the mechanism of their action. Yet without such knowledge no successful prevention of accidents is possible.

To rely here on prohibitions and repressions means to make a commit error. As to pilots, as we know, most countries refrain from holding them criminally liable, believing that this could have major negative consequences in terms of flight safety. A similar viewpoint is held by the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), of which the Soviet Union is a member.

6. Legal propaganda, and the legal education of the citizens play a major role in the prevention of violations. Three main areas exist in this important and responsible work.

First, improving the quality of lawyers' training, and linking it more closely to practical work and the development of science and technology. Mastery of contemporary technology and problems of its interaction with man is a mandatory prerequisite for good quality control over the observance of safety rules, upgrading the efficiency of preventive measures, accurately determining the degree of guilt of participants in an accident and the fairness of their punishment. This can be achieved only in the case of steady and practical interaction between jurists and authorities in charge of departmental and extradepartmental control.

Second, the legal knowledge of managers must be improved. This is particularly important in areas in which disciplinary statutes operate, civil aviation in particular. It would be expedient mandatorily to introduce the legal training of managers on all levels on the basis of special basic training programs and, subsequently, periodically to enhance the level of such training. This should be done by specialists in scientific organizations of the Ministry of Justice and the USSR Prosecutor General's Office, and by ministry and department jurists.

Third, we need universal legal training in order to eliminate the legal illiteracy of the population. Every citizen must have a basic knowledge of the law. Rights and obligations, responsibility for violating the rules of social behavior, observing safety rules at home and at work, and observing legal acts and state laws must be mandatorily studied by all citizens, particularly those who are directly involved in servicing the most complex modern equipment. This training must be provided on a steady and purposeful basis, since childhood. In that case the standards which govern the behavior of the worker will not be a burden and their observance will become a habit. Knowledge of the law and the cost of acquiring such knowledge would result in thousands of lives saved.

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Lenin: Political Leader and Man

18020008h Moscow *KOMMUNIST* in Russian
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[Article by Armand Hammer with Neil Lindon]

[Text] The year was 1921. The press in a number of countries was reporting on hunger and epidemics in Russia. Armand Hammer, the young American physician and businessman, who had become a millionaire at the age of 23, was profoundly shaken up, as he wrote himself, by such news. To everyone's amazement, he decided to go to Russia to treat the sick.

On his arrival in Moscow, Hammer presented the People's Commissariat of Health with a very valuable amount of surgical instruments. He then visited the Urals with a group of foreign representatives, accompanied by Lyudvig Martens, Glavmetall chairman. It was precisely during that trip that he conceived of trading with the Russians and to help to rebuild industry in the Urals. Informed of this, V.I. Lenin showed a great deal of interest in the proposal of the American businessman. He deemed necessary to communicate it to the members of the RKP(b) Central Committee Politburo and on 22 October 1921 he had a talk with Hammer. In the course of their meeting an agreement was reached, stipulating that Hammer would take over a concession for the development of asbestos deposits in the Urals.

Vladimir Ilich paid great attention to this matter. He studied the contracts on grain procurements and the concession and issued the order that they be kept under strict control. He steadily supervised the implementation of his instructions. While Hammer was still in Moscow, Lenin wrote to him the following: "This initiative is extremely important. It is my hope that it will be of tremendous significance (*"Poln. Sobr. Soch."* [Complete Collected Works], vol 53, p 324).

The concession taken over by Armand Hammer developed successfully. Later on, in 1925, the young businessman took over another concession, this time for the production and marketing of office equipment, which he headed until 1930. Hammer actively renewed business relations with our country in 1972, when his company concluded an agreement for the delivery of chemical fertilizers, in exchange for which he purchased ammonia and urea. Now, when mixed enterprises with the participation of foreign companies have begun to be established under the conditions of restructuring, the concern headed by Hammer has shown a great interest in this new area.

Armand Hammer described his meeting with V.I. Lenin for the first time in 1926 in Leningrad's *KRASNAYA GAZETA*. Later he repeatedly went back to the events of those distant days, adding further details to his first story. His fullest description of his meeting with V.I.

Lenin is included in his memoirs, which came out in New York in 1987 (Armand Hammer with Neil Lindon. "Hammer." New York, 1987, 544 pp).

Following is a summary of the chapter on V.I. Lenin.

In his book Hammer describes how, returning from his trip to the Urals in October 1921, he was stricken by the changes which had taken place in Moscow in his absence: he had left empty streets, whereas now they were teeming with people. Everywhere he saw workers removing the boards from store doors, replacing the broken glass on window stores and repairing and plastering buildings.

"My fellow passengers," writes Hammer in his memoirs, "who were no less amazed than I was, began to ask questions. 'The NEP, the NEP,' they were answered. This was the new economic policy recently introduced by Lenin despite a considerable opposition on the part of some of his colleagues. It was only Lenin personally who could initiate such a policy which marked one of the most dramatic and decisive changes in the history of our century. Lenin relied on the tremendous reserves of trust in him, on the entire magic power of convincing his comrades. Had the NEP been suggested by anyone else, such a person would have been probably shot as a traitor to the revolution.

"The decree proclaiming the NEP was published in Moscow on 9 August. It may have appeared as though being nothing but a rejection of communism and the restoration of capitalist methods. As Lenin said at that time, and as confirmed by subsequent events, the NEP was not an admission of total failure, as described by the critics and enemies of the Soviets. It meant state socialism rather than communism and preserved state control over industry and the entire economy. However, it opened the door to private initiative by allowing the people to work, to do business in the old way—for the sake of money—and therefore to earn money and not than vouchers, as had been the case previously.

"The tremendous quantity of a great variety of goods which appeared as though magically was the immediate result of the introduction of the NEP. The shelves of recently empty stores were crowded with items which people had not seen since the time of the bolshevik revolution, 4 years previously....

"The magic of the NEP was necessary to bring back all these goods out their hiding places in basements, barns and concealed store rooms. At its initial stage, the NEP offered private storekeepers a much broader area of activities than they were given later and it would be no exaggeration to say that this step provided the initial impetus in Russia's economic recovery. Lenin saved the revolution with a single decisive step" (pp 112-113).

In describing the changes which took place after the introduction of the NEP, Hammer does not avoid its shady aspects, saying that the advantages of regained

energy was accompanied by prostitution, gambling and all kinds of illegal deals. Those who profited and enriched themselves under the new circumstances were subject of a great deal of criticism. He also notes jokes and anecdotes on the subject of the hated NEPmen were making the rounds in Moscow.

The day after Hammer's return to Moscow he was urgently summoned to the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. He was told that a cable had been phoned to them from Lenin's office, requesting an immediate meeting.

"...I entered a large room," the author of the memoirs goes on to write, "crowded with people, working at their desks, like in any big American company; Lenin's secretary Mariya Ignatyevna Glyasser (secretary of the SNK—editor) took me into Lenin's office through a double door. She was familiar with the most profound secrets of the 'red dictator,' enjoyed his total confidence but never used her official position to promote her own or her friends' benefits.

"Lenin rose behind his desk to meet us at the door. He was shorter than I expected. He was a thickset short man, 5 feet 3 inches tall, with a big head a reddish beard, wearing a dark gray suit with a white collar and a black tie. His eyes were sparkling with warm friendliness as he shook our hands and took us to the leather seats by the large desk. We sat so close to each-other that our knees almost touched" (p 115).

After a short description of the room in which the meeting took place and which is today well-familiar to millions of people who have visited that office, Hammer recollects in detail his conversation with Lenin.

"In the course of slightly more than 1 hour of discussion," he writes, "I became totally absorbed with Lenin's personality. His power of concentration was tremendous. When he spoke to you he made you feel that you were the most important person in his life. He brought his face close to yours, squinting with his left eye while the right eye looked into you as though trying to penetrate to the very bottom of your soul. Toward the end of our talk I felt so taken by him that I could have confided in him entirely" (p 116).

The conversation was conducted in English, for after Lenin had asked about the language in which the guests preferred to talk, the latter said that he still preferred his native tongue. The first thing which the author points out was the question of relations between the Soviet Republic and the United States.

"Our two countries—the United States and Russia—" Lenin explained, "supplement each other. Russia is a backward country with tremendous natural resources. The United States could find here raw materials and a market for machines and, subsequently, for finished

goods. Russia needs above all American technology and work methods, American machines, engineers and instructors. Lenin picked up the journal THE SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN.

"'Look,' he said quickly leafing through the journal. 'Here is what your people have done. This is what progress means: buildings, inventions, machines, and mechanical helpers of the human hands. We need the knowledge and the spirit which have made America what it is today.'

"During our talk we were repeatedly interrupted by secretaries carrying with papers. Lenin sent them away.

"'Have you traveled around Russia?' he suddenly asked.

"I answered that I had spent nearly 1 month in the Urals and in the hunger area.

"His face changed. The sparkle in his eyes disappeared, replaced by an expression of infinite sadness. At that moment I realized the burden of responsibility which laid on the shoulders of this man.

"'Yes,' he said slowly. 'Hunger...I was told that you wanted to give medical assistance.... Yes...this is good, we need this a great deal but...we have a sufficient number of physicians of our own. What we need are American businessmen who can work the way you can. You are shipping us grain to save the lives of men, women and small children who would otherwise die of hunger this winter. These people in trouble thank you and I add my modest gratitude on behalf of the government.' Lenin stopped suddenly, clearly trying to hold back his tears.

"'What do we truly need?' His voice became firmer and his eyes came alive again. 'We need American capital and technical assistance, so that the wheels of our economy can start turning again.'

"I told him that I had seen in the Urals a great deal of raw material and manpower and that many of the factories were in a condition better than I had expected.

"Lenin nodded.

"'Yes,' he said, 'this is so. The civil war stopped everything and now we have to start all over again. The new economic policy requires the development of our economic possibilities. We hope to accelerate this process by granting industrial and commercial concessions to foreigners. The United States will be offered a great opportunity. Have you considered any of this?'

"I answered that one of my companions, a mining engineer, had tried to get me interested in the asbestos mines in Alapayevsk, which seemed to have a good future. I mentioned briefly that my company was small.

"Lenin interrupted me.

"'That is not the problem,' he said. 'On this point you are wrong. Someone must break the ice. Why don't you take over the asbestos concession?'

"At that point I was struck by the historical opportunity which Lenin was offering me. Instinctively I felt a certain skepticism as to the possibility of getting into this. My observation of the Russian type of doing business had told me that the preparations alone for such a deal would take a number of months. I said something to that effect.

"Lenin instantly caught on.

"'Bureaucracy,' he said, 'is one of our curses. I keep talking about it all the time. Here is what I will do now. I will appoint a special commission consisting of two members, one of whom will be connected with the Commissariat of Worker and Peasant Inspection and the other, with the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission (commonly referred to as the Cheka), to solve problems and give you all the necessary assistance. You can rest assured that they will act without delay. We are going to do this right now.'

"It was thus that under my very eyes the embryo which subsequently grew into the Concessions Commission of the Soviet Union (the main concessions committee of the SNK—editor) was created.

"'All your discussions will be with them,' Lenin added quickly. 'The moment you reach any preliminary agreement, let me know about it. In our view, we must create conditions which will allow concessionaires to make money in Russia.'

"...In conclusion, he said: 'Do not be too concerned with details. I will see to it that you are treated fairly. If you want something, write or communicate with me. After you have concluded a temporary contract,' he went on to say, 'the Council of People's Commissars will approve it without delay. What we decide we carry out. You understand this.' Once again he waved his right hand firmly, in emphasis. 'In general, if necessary, I will not even wait for the Sovnarkom meeting. Such things can easily be settled by phone.'

"Lenin kept his promise punctiliously. Within an incredibly short time I turned out to be the first American concessionaire who had undertaken to initiate the reorganization of an industrial sector about which I knew nothing.

"As I look back, and as I recall this memorable interview, I try to my utmost to single out what impressed me most. I think that it was the following: before entering Lenin's office, to a certain extent I was under the impression of the tremendous respect which he enjoyed among his supporters, for which reason I somehow expected to see a superman, an unusual and terrifying

individual, alone and aloof from mankind. What turned out was the exact opposite. A conversation with Lenin was like talking with a close friend, a friend who understood you. His contagious smile and lively speech, his sincerity and natural behavior disarmed me completely.

"Lenin has been described as a merciless fanatic, cruel and cold. I refuse to believe this. It was precisely his inordinate humanity, his warm personal magnetism and total lack of pride and self-assertiveness were what made him great, helping him successfully to rally, to bring under a common denominator the strong and clashing aspirations of his colleagues" (pp 116-118).

The chapter "Lenin" describes Hammer's impressions of Vladimir Ilich and gives his assessment of the leader of the Russian revolution. In other chapters as well the author returns, although fragmentarily, to Lenin, and again and again discusses the significance of the NEP to the country. He also describes the way Lenin helped him to surmount a variety of bureaucratic obstacles which arose in organizing the first concession. Again and again he notes that his meeting with Lenin gave a different direction to his entire life. "Although slightly touching upon my life," he writes, "Lenin turned it around diametrically. This can be accomplished only by a great leader" (p 121).

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Live Problem of Theory and Practice

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[Review of the book "*Leninskiye Printsipy Natsionalnoy Politiki KPSS i Aktualnyye Zadachi Internatsionalnogo Vospitaniya*"] [The Leninist Principles of CPSU National Policy and Topical Tasks of International Education]. Izdatelstvo Kazakhstan, Alma-Ata, 1987, 180 pp]

[Text] The revolution in the sphere of national relations, which gave scope to the blossoming and rapprochement among nations and ethnic groups in the USSR, is of universal historical significance. This outstanding accomplishment of socialism is an object of our legitimate pride. However, socialism does not stand still. It develops as it perpetuates the cause of the Great October Revolution. Further progress is needed in relations among nationalities as well, closely related to the solution of ever new economic, social and cultural-educational problems. Constant attention must also be paid to the adoption of a comprehensive approach to the interpretation of such problems and the formulation and implementation of practical steps.

This active stance was the starting point for the work of the republic practical science conference which was held last year in Alma-Ata. The proceedings of the conference

were published in a separate book and will unquestionably be of interest to our readers. The familiar December 1986 events were accurately assessed by the republic party organization. They provided an impetus not only for taking urgent specific steps but also for a thorough and comprehensive study, conducted within a broad historical context, of the real situation prevailing in relations among nationalities in the republic, achievements and omissions in their development and the level of organizational and ideological-educational work done by party committees, soviet and economic authorities, educational and cultural institutions, public organizations and creative associations. Obviously, this type of comprehensive analysis is needed in solving any topical pressing problem, as confirmed by the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the work of the republic party organization of Kazakhstan, which is of essential, of party-wide significance.

The successful solution of the national problem, as noted in the book, was helped by the organic combination of the struggle for socialism with that for democracy, as substantiated by V.I. Lenin. "In this connection, Lenin's national policy was based on two interrelated principles: first, greatest possible concern for giving comprehensive freedom to and for developing the country's nationalities and ethnic groups, giving them all possible aid and paying maximal attention to their needs and requirements; second, the implementation of a policy of rapprochement between the proletariat and the semi-proletariat of different nationalities in the course of the joint revolutionary struggle, ensuring the close unification of nationalities in the interest of the socialist reorganization of society and surmounting the opposition of the overthrown exploiting classes which were backed by the entire might of international capital" (from the report submitted by **Z.K. Kamalidenov**, Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee secretary, pp 4-5). The Leninist national program covered a broad range of problems, such as ensuring the free development of big and small nations; developing national relations on the basis of full equality and voluntary cooperation among nationalities; equal right of nationalities to the creation of their national Soviet socialist statehood, help provided by the large developed nationalities to the small ones and to ethnic groups in eliminating actual inequality in the economic, political and cultural areas; and mandatory and systematic implementation of the principle of democratic centralism in state building in the conditions of a multinational country.

The development of all aspects of life of socialist society requires a thought-out and persistent effort relying on a profound scientific interpretation of reality with its new phenomena and processes. Drifting is contraindicated for socialism. However, the speech notes, "Many among us, including scientists, supported in their time the view that building socialism would automatically solve the problem of national relations. To discuss such problems was deemed simply unseemly. Gradually, we dropped

from our vocabulary words and concepts such as 'nationalism,' 'struggle against feudal-bay vestiges,' and so on. Present reality proves that the socialist revolution creates objective prerequisites for the solution of the national problem. However, its successful solution depends on the systematic implementation of the Leninist principles of national policy" (p 6). Any sluggishness, and passiveness in solving such problems, not to mention any distortions (as for example in cadre policy and the social area) inevitably create conditions for negative phenomena in relations among people of different nationalities and for reviving nationalistic feelings. "The internationalization of social life of nationalities and ethnic groups is an objective law in the development of our society," said **A.S. Koldashov**, prorector of the Higher Party School in Alma-Ata. "However, if the development of national relations, as that of other relations, is not regulated through conscious activities of the people, an uncontrolled element would increase within them. The December events in Alma-Ata, which in one fell swoop put an end to our complacency in this respect, reminded us of this with the harshest possible clarity" (p 83).

Both the report and the addresses by the participants at the conference emphasized the importance of the implementation of the active social policy drafted by the party, particularly in terms of reorganizing the aspects of life which nurture conservatism, and elements of the organization of the life, traditions and customs of the people which are alien to socialism. "...The way of life and ordinary relations are characterized by a strongly manifested continuity. They are manifested under historically developed ways and means of satisfying material and spiritual needs existing beyond industrial and sociopolitical activities, in the nature of interrelationships and interconnections among people in this area, and in the set of ceremonies, traditions and mores which constitute the inner way of life of social groups, nationalities and ethnic groups.

"The establishment and development of international features in the spiritual area of life (traditions, ceremonies, celebrations) take place more slowly and with greater difficulty than material processes" (p 9). That is why attention must always be focused on "the further development of all that is progressive in the life of the peoples of the USSR, including progressive traditions in ordinary life, surmounting anything which hinders progress, comprehensively strengthening the unity and cohesion among nationalities and ethnic groups, and shaping and developing the international features of the way of life" (pp 9-10).

There is no conflict between national and international features, for this is a question of sociomoral and cultural values which enrich social life and which contribute to the progress and unity of socialist nations. However, we must not allow obsolete phenomena alien to socialism to hide behind "national specifics." "We must," delegates

to the conference said, "declare merciless war to traditions and vestiges which clearly conflict not only with the traditions of the Soviet way of life but also with the law and, on the moral level, insult the dignity and honor of man" (p 10). It was emphasized that facts of marrying off minor girls, religious traditions incompatible with a working way of life, "dowry," and bribery involving valuable gifts, offering presents to young people and developing in them a scornful attitude toward physical labor, drunken bouts and other actions which are ideologically and morally alien to our society are very harmful to the cause of improving the socialist way of life also because in the absence of proper opposition they may be reproduced and contaminate an increasing number of people.

"The shaping and growth of national self-awareness, as an aspect of the development of an internationalist awareness is a progressive phenomenon," explained **K.Sh. Shulembayev**, head of the department of philosophy, Kazakh Pedagogical Institute imeni Abay. "It is important to remember in this case, however, that separating the establishment and blossoming of national from international features could develop trends of exclusivity, national boastfulness and a disrespectful attitude toward other nationalities and ethnic groups, i.e., trigger nationalism and even chauvinism" (p 157).

Efforts to present vestiges and negative phenomena under a "national" aspect are still frequently encountered and, as a rule, are manifestations of demagoguery. "In some cases the bearers of nationalist vestiges conceal themselves skillfully and present their erroneous views and actions as "the truth," as party policy. Among such people underestimating contacts with fraternal peoples may be presented as the wish to make full use of their opportunities and the manifestation of parochialism as the aspiration to promote the well-being of their own area; mistrust of nonnational cadres may be presented as a legitimate aspiration to develop their own cadres. What makes these phenomena complex is that they could equally be the result of error or hypocrisy" (p 18). It is necessary to conceal nationalistic sways, for they conflict with socialism. They have no class roots and neither have nor could have mass support among our society. "However, a profound consideration of the problem," noted **M.M. Suzhikov**, shows that at crucial times of the revolutionary struggle for perfecting socialism, under the conditions of distorted activities on the part of some groups of people and in social and national policy, and of reduced role of ideological education, a deformation occurs in social relations, including relations among nationalities. All of this gives birth to common and specific reasons for recurrences of nationalism" (pp 31-32). He also said that "parochialism, national egotism, boastfulness and vanity are specific types and forms of manifestation of nationalism. They indicate a promotion of national exclusivity, scorn for other nations, pitting the interests of one ethnic group against those of another and, as a whole, against the

interests of the Soviet people. They are equally manifested in idealizing the prerevolutionary historical past, abandoning the principle of party-mindedness in the interpretation of problems of culture, literature, the arts and the social sciences, preserving and praising harmful and archaic domestic and tribal customs and ceremonies and mixing religion with nationalism" (p 32).

In frequent cases there is a great deal of speculation on the naturally increased interest shown by the people in the historical past. This is not exclusively the concern of religious ideologues. An uncritical attitude is being manifested toward anything which was part of the past, sometimes on the part of totally "laic" members of the intelligentsia. Following is the assessment of this fact by K.Sh. Shulembayev: "Each ethnic group respects its own traditions. However, when a sense of measure in the observance of such traditions is lost, a good tradition turns into its opposite. An uncritical attitude toward the religious assessment of the history and the moral and spiritual values of the people could lead to grave errors, as a result of which respect for history could, at some point, turn into a kind of cult and lose its positive content" (p 156). In other words, the roots of nationalistic prejudices go back into history but could grow under socialist conditions only in the case of a distorted attitude toward the past, as a result of a confused evaluation of spiritual values and major shortcomings and errors in political and ideological work. As M.K. Kozybayev, department head, Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography noted, "Stagnation trends are phenomena alien to socialism. They include bureaucratic and essentially nonsocialist actions related to the cult of personality, subjectivism, arbitrariness, cult of 'position,' favoritism, bribery and other aspects of degeneracy" (p 162).

It is this kind of gross errors that were detected in the work of the previous republic leadership. They worsened stagnation in economic development and had a painful effect on the moral and political atmosphere and on spiritual life. A study of the situation in its various areas, criticism of shortcomings and the formulation of steps aimed at their elimination were found in the addresses by A. Kekilbayev, second secretary of the board of the Kazakh Writers Union, E.M. Zhakselekov, chairman of the Kazakh Trade Unions Council, V.G. Ushakova, head of the national relations sector, Alma-Ata Obkom, Kazakh Communist Party, V.V. Chesnokov, party committee secretary, Kazakh State University imeni S.M. Kirov, L.Z. Rustemov, deputy minister of education, Kazakh SSR, and A.T. Kaydarov, director of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Linguistics.

According to R.B. Suleymenov, director of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography, "A number of reasons could explain the profound decline in the development of Kazakh culture and science: ambition, subjective assessments of successes, lack of glasnost, suppression of criticism of shortcomings and faults and converting

criticism into a weapon in the struggle against the opponents of favoritism; lack of attention to the profound elaboration of problems of development of national relations, which developed into an increased trend toward isolation and national exclusivity, and moods of national boastfulness. The former broad contacts and relations within science, art and literature became increasingly narrower and formalized. Interethnic, all-union and regional scientific, literary-artistic and other conferences, symposia and congresses sponsored in the republic assumed a pompous impractical nature" (pp 63-64). Hence phenomena of stagnation in social thinking and social science in the republic. "Kazakh science," said M.M. Suzhikov, "did not study problems, such as the specific nature of nationalism at the present time, interconnection and interchangeability between nationalism and chauvinism, specific forms of manifestation of nationalism, their common and specific reasons, the specific level of the internationalist awareness of the republic's population, the extent of contamination with nationalism of the various social strata and ethnic groups, the real ways of surmounting nationalism, the specific role which literature, the arts, the mass information media and the social sciences play in this process, and so on" (pp 30-31).

We must take into consideration that such shortcomings in the development of spiritual life appeared at a time when the efforts of foreign hostile propaganda increased immeasurably, one of the main trends of which is, precisely, an effort to encourage nationalistic (anti-Russian above all) moods, to drive a wedge in relations among nationalities and ethnic groups in the country and to undermine the Leninist friendship among the peoples of the USSR. "Bourgeois propaganda," V.A. Auman, deputy head, department of propaganda and agitation, Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, said in his address, "is loudly proclaiming that the 70 years of experience of the USSR has not promoted the blossoming of socialist nations and nationalities but hindered the development of national culture, language and self-awareness, using the numerically stronger Russian nation as an instrument for the 'exploitation' of other peoples within the USSR. Our enemy changes the forms of such false assertions depending on the union or autonomous republic at which its propaganda sting is aimed. Accordingly, he chooses a set of arguments and facts, the purpose of which is to trigger discontent with the Russians" (p 141).

The participants in the conference noted that socialism is firm and that even during the period of stagnation the fabrications of bourgeois propaganda were unable to weaken the friendship among the peoples. Nonetheless, a danger remains in this case; negative phenomena in this area encourage the hopes of the enemies of socialism. "Have the participants in mass disorders defended the interests of our society, the interests of the Kazakh people?" asked A.Ye. Yerzhanov, head of the department of CPSU history, Kazakh Polytechnical Institute imeni V.I. Lenin, answering: "By no means. The organizers

and instigators of these events pursued either nationalistic or narrow-group interests and objectives. Because of their political immaturity and naivete, misled young people were only acting as the mouthpiece of a mercenary-minded group. They did not serve their own people. They did not defend their honor but harmed both" (p 45). The nature of these events and, particularly, the "shadowy," group and corporate interests of those who backed them demand a stricter and more consistent class approach, scientifically substantiated and based on a profound analysis of the realities of the political assessment of phenomena and processes in contemporary social life in solving a number of ideological-theoretical, cultural-educational and other practical problems.

It is a question not only of ideology, culture and spiritual life as a whole or of the feelings of the people and the mentality of the public. In recent years there have been substantial deformations in the republic's sociopolitical development. Following are some data cited in the speech by K.A. Abdullayev, deputy chairman of the republic's council of ministers and chairman of the Kazakh SSR Gosplan. Although fixed capital increased, labor productivity remained virtually stable and even declined in agricultural production (by 9 percent during the 11th 5-year period). The share of machine building and metal processing in industrial output dropped by 17 percent. "Lagging in the development of the social area is restraining the growth of labor productivity and, as a consequence, the national income" (p 59).

In recent decades there have been substantial distortions in the social structure of the Kazakh population, which have had an influence on interethnic relations as well. Industrialization noticeably changed life in the republic and that of its native population. "By the mid- 1930s, Kazakh accounted for 46.5 percent of workers in the large industrial enterprises in the republic," noted G.Ya. Kozlov, deputy director, Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History. "Subsequently, however, the development of the sociocultural structure of the Kazakh nation adopted the type of character according to which natives, most of whom have traditionally been peasants, became the main reinforcement of the ranks of the intelligentsia, specialists and employees, 'bypassing' working class and proletarian training. Whereas for the country at large the working class is today not simply the most multinational class but also the majority of the working people, the majority of the employed Kazakh population found itself in the nonproduction area. This also affected the social structure of our party organization" (pp 76-77). The book also cites the following data: At the beginning of 1983 Kazakhs accounted for no more than 17.9 percent of industrial workers and, in some sectors, even less. Thus, they accounted for 12 percent in machine building and metal processing, 6.3 percent in ferrous metallurgy and 8.5 percent in the coal industry (see p 21).

We can only agree with G.Ya. Kozlov's conclusion that "the proper shaping of the national detachment of the working class and the socioclass structure in Kazakhstan

are problems of tremendous socioeconomic and moral-political significance. Their solution will greatly determine the efficient organization of class and national relations in the republic, the successful implementation of the Leninist national policy and the international upbringing of the working people. The multinational labor and, above all, worker collectives are precisely the best possible environment for developing an international spirit and strengthening fraternity and friendship among the peoples of the USSR. The development of the national detachment of the working class would also make it possible to enhance the qualitative status of the social base of the Kazakh Communist Party" (p 77).

"Now that we know the diagnosis," said G.V. Kolbin, Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, "we must convert from discussion on international upbringing to efforts to promote such upbringing, for so far and for quite some time we have only replaced this with talking about the problems" (p 169).

In particular, the need was emphasized to show concern above all for the development of bilingualism and the language of the native nationality after which the republic was named. "Currently the implementation of language decisions has been initiated for both the Russian and Kazakh languages. This brings the people closer to each other. The majority of Russian people engaged in party, soviet and economic work are today learning the Kazakh language with pleasure and many of them have become fluent in it" (p 171).

The book ends with the recommendations drafted by the participants in the conference (pp 174-177), reflecting the trend followed in the problems under consideration. Unquestionably, constant attention to the development of national relations and purposeful and consistent ideological-education and practical work in this area will help to achieve the desired results.

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V.I. Vernadskiy and Tradition in the Natural Sciences

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[Article by Nikita Nikolayevich Moiseyev, academician, advisor, USSR Academy of Science Computer Center Directorate]

[Text] In recent decades V.I. Vernadskiy's creative legacy has been the focal point of attention of scientific circles and the world public at large. This March we shall be celebrating the 125th anniversary of the birth of this outstanding Soviet scientist. V.I. Vernadskiy's scientific and humanistic views and forecasts on the development of relations between man and the environment are

assuming increasing authoritativeness and are substantially influencing the formulation not only of vast research programs but also of a new style of philosophical thinking.

I.

The tendency of conceiving of the universe as a whole in its development and of determining the place held within it by man appeared, most likely, at the very dawn of human thinking. There were periods when specific knowledge concerning specific facts were valued more than anything else. However, there also were other times, when scientists were excited by general, synthesized structures which made it possible to judge of the creation of the world as a whole, at which point science particularly actively influenced the outlook and led to radical revision of concepts of the surrounding world.

The most important events in science, justifiably described as revolutionary, are related to the personalities of Copernicus, Galileo and Newton. These men developed a system of views within which the subsequent development of physics and the other natural sciences took place. The establishment of a new scientific outlook, the surmounting of medieval scholasticism and the opening of new horizons of knowledge and development were paralleled by certain losses as well: the concept of the unity among man, earth and space, inherent in the ancient Greeks and which were at the foundations of European civilization, disappeared.

A revolution in biology occurred in the 19th century with the appearance of the theory of evolution. The victory of Darwinism and the appearance of a new picture of development of the animate world also meant the shaping of a scientific outlook in areas of the natural sciences unrelated to physics. Here as well general dynamic ideas became primary. Darwinism triggered a number of disputes which remain unabated to this day. In all likelihood, a great deal more remains to be refined in the initial systems of the revolutionary process, suggested by Charles Darwin. Whatever the case, and however knowledge may develop in the future, today it is no longer possible to consider the animate world as other than subject to evolution. Although at present we are still unfamiliar with all mechanisms of evolution which determine the global process of the development of life, and although we cannot in all cases find an explanation of facts noted by natural scientists, we are confident that we are dealing with a process of continuing development which is determined by variability, heredity and selectivity. The new data not only do not delete understandable truths and formulated theories but can be frequently interpreted precisely in their light. It was thanks to Darwin that gradually an understanding developed of the unity existing among all evolutionary processes in science and an awareness of the necessity and, which is even more important, of the possibility of developing a certain common language which would enable us to describe the development of matter as a single entity.

However, the road to such an understanding was long and hard. Darwinism itself conflicted with the scientific paradigm which was being asserted in the 19th century. Let us remember that it was roughly at that time that the second theory of thermodynamics was discovered, according to which an inevitable destruction of any material structure occurs and that any closed system invariably leads to chaos. The theory of evolution led to the precisely opposite conclusion: with the expansion of the development process ever new and ever more complex organized material "structures" appear; there is a continuing increased complexity of relations and interaction between any and all forms of the animate world.

Thus, the theory of evolution presented 19th century scientific and philosophical thinking with a number of most difficult scientific and gnosiological problems which, at that time, seemed insurmountably difficult. Today as well we are probably only on the threshold of combining the ideas of physics with biology, without which no unified picture of development and a single language for the description of nature are possible. Nonetheless, in the mid-19th century the key words were spoken: variability, heredity and selectivity; these were the foundations of the language used to describe all processes occurring in animate matter and, with some essential reservations, in inanimate nature and in society.

We are familiar with the statement by L. Boltzman, to the effect that if we are asked to link the 19th century with the name of any natural scientist, it should be described as the age of Darwin. We agree with Boltzman. Thus, it would be legitimate to consider the 17th and 18th centuries the centuries of Newton. The 20th century, it seems to me, should be related on the scientific level to V.I. Vernadskiy, for in this century as well there was a change in concepts. Some traditional borders separating the natural from the social sciences were eliminated. The foundation of this revolutionary change is Vernadskiy's theory of the noosphere, of the possibility for the biosphere gradually to assume a qualitatively new condition.

II.

V.I. Vernadskiy was an encyclopedic natural scientist. He worked in an area where several sciences intersected—mineralogy, geology, chemistry, biology and geochemistry. By the end of the 19th century Vernadskiy had laid the foundations of biogeochemistry, which was a new area in the natural sciences and which became the foundation for his subsequent research.

By the turn of the 20th century it had become clear that life, animate matter, had played a tremendous role in shaping the earth, its atmosphere, the thickness of alluvial rocks, the structure of the landscape and the chemistry of the oceans. Today we know that life on our planet

appeared almost (on a cosmic scale) simultaneously with its shape as a body in space. On a time scale, these two points are separated by hardly more than half a billion years.

The appearance of life radically influenced the nature of the earth's evolution. Animate matter, making use of external, solar above all, energy, drastically accelerated all processes occurring on the surface of the planet and brought about the conversion of its outer surface into the biosphere. Vernadskiy was convinced that life is a space phenomenon. In contemporary terminology, it could be said that he considered its appearance as one of the processes of the self-organization of matter. At the same time, he always considered as experimentally justified the principle that life stems only from animate matter. In his studies the scientist traced the history of interaction between animate and inanimate matter, i.e., of inorganic substances, and the history of the development of the biosphere. In the course of such work, naturally, the question of the role of man within the single general planetary process arose. Actually, this is a key problem in the theory of the noosphere.

The appearance of intellect was yet another revolutionary landmark in the development of our planet, which qualitatively changed the entire nature of the earth's evolution. A new acceleration of evolutionary processes occurred with the appearance of man and society. By creating more advanced technologies, man involves in his activities ever new planetary resources and, at the same, extracts from the circulation of chemical elements in nature an increasing quantity of matter. In this manner, at this point man becomes a "geological forming force" on earth and a powerful factor influencing the further development of the planet.

Since it is above all mankind that determines the further course of development of the biosphere and since mankind is part of it and cannot exist outside of it (in any case, at the present level of technology), it necessarily must assume responsibility for the subsequent development of the biosphere. The future of civilization greatly depends on our ability to convert the biosphere into the realm of Reason, i.e., into the noosphere.

Vernadskiy's theory of the gradual transition of the biosphere into noosphere developed gradually, in the course of his entire creative work. Like any developing theory it was not (nor could it be) formulated by him in its finite aspect. After the scientist's death, his biosphere-noosphere concept began to draw the attention of an increasing circle of specialists in a great variety of areas, mainly in the natural sciences. The result was the appearance of interpretations of the theory of the noosphere, which were frequently quite remote, in my view, from the sense which the author had invested in his concept. The most widespread simplified explanation of the concept was by analogy with the term "biosphere." The biosphere is an area of life, i.e., that part of the earth which includes life or the products of life activities. It is

precisely thus that occasionally the realm of reason was also considered part of the biosphere of the earth, accessible to (supported by) the conscious influence of man. With such an interpretation the noosphere becomes part of the biosphere, which is shaped along with reasonable human activities and identified with the technosphere, in which case, the biospheric-noospheric concept is reduced to the gradual mastery of the biosphere by man. This interpretation is shared by many of Vernadskiy's followers.

I support a different interpretation of Vernadskiy's theory which, it seems to me, is more consistent with his ideas.

Vernadskiy spoke of the growing anthropogenic burden placed on science and of mankind as a nature-forming factor and the need to correlate influence on nature with its possibilities, i.e., that which we describe today as the coevolution of man and biosphere. At the same time, the thought of the responsibility of man for the future of the biosphere and of the fact that we need the type of social organization which would enable man sensibly to guide the evolution of the biosphere runs throughout his entire thinking. The noosphere, in my view, was conceived by Vernadskiy as a condition of the biosphere and society, as an indivisible structural component of it, at a point when conditions for the blossoming of mankind would be secured.

That is why I consider it more appropriate to discuss not the noosphere itself but the age of the noosphere. A conversion to the age of noosphere cannot take place by itself. This will be a difficult and painful process which will demand of mankind not only tremendous efforts and a change in the organizational structure of society but also the development of a new morality. Mankind will face a dilemma in its full magnitude: either entering the age of the noosphere or taking a path of more or less slow degradation. In my view, such an interpretation of Vernadskiy's theory is much more consistent with the entire spirit of his work, compared to the purely natural scientific interpretation of the meaning of the term "noosphere" itself.

Therefore, Vernadskiy clearly realized the difficulties which mankind would have to surmount before it could enter the age of the noosphere. Nonetheless, he assessed the future very optimistically, assuming that the history of the development of society confirmed its possibility of coping with any vicissitudes which may await it. As early as the 1930s he discussed, in one way or another, the nature of the social organization needed for the development of the area of the mind. By the end of 1944, shortly before his death, in a number of statements he linked the appearance of the victorious end of the war and the defeat of fascism with the advent of an age which would make it possible to implement the principles of this type of organization of society.

III.

This interpretation may be used as a start in the formulation of scientific programs and in defining the specific objectives of studies of the greatest possible importance to mankind, i.e., of global objectives, as we say today. The theory of the noosphere and the age of the noosphere are the natural scientific foundations of globalism and, as we shall see later, not only in the sense of the natural sciences.

The conversion to the age of the noosphere will require a restructuring of many established traditions and principles which determine the functioning of social institutions and interrelationships among individuals, classes, countries and regions, and the relationship between man and nature. There will be need for new knowledge and a gradual conversion of the theory of the noosphere into the theory of the development of the noosphere.

Such a theory will be a most complex synthetic structure, a combination of natural with social sciences. It will be an embodiment of the thought expressed by Marx more than a century ago: that of the inevitable combination of the science of history and the science of nature within a single science of man. The theory of development of the noosphere will become part of the science of man, for it will undertake the study of problems of man's survival under the conditions of a growing technological and energy power. In terms of the further progress of civilization it is vitally important to learn how to correlate our actions with the possibilities of the biosphere and to change its features not to the detriment but to the good of mankind. Naturally, the theory of the development of the noosphere, based on the achievements of the sciences dealing with society, must study the variants of the strategy of interconnection between people and nations and suggest organizational structures of mankind which can ensure the coevolution of man and the biosphere.

The theory of the noosphere is not only a scientific viewpoint but also a warning to mankind. Vernadskiy may not have conceived of how infinitely relevant and practically necessary would his views turn out to be by the end of the century. Therefore, the natural development of Vernadskiy's ideas should be adopted as research programs in a great variety of areas of human life, and as a program for the study of problems which are unprecedented in history, forcing us to consider many problems in aspects alien to traditional science.

What are these problems? Their enumeration, not to mention their discussion, would go way beyond the limits of an article. Nonetheless, I deem it necessary to discuss two programs.

The first, in my view, should stipulate the study of the biosphere as a single entity. Vernadskiy formulated such a task at the very beginning of his scientific activities. In his article "Goethe As a Naturalist" he wrote that "the synthetic study of the objects of nature—its natural

bodies and nature itself as an 'entity'—inevitably bring to light structural features which are omitted in an analytical approach, and provides new knowledge." The time has now come and the possibilities have appeared for implementing the behest of this outstanding scientist. Furthermore, the objectives of the comprehensive study of the biosphere have been defined. The first and most important among them today is establishing what man should not do, what threshold he should not cross under any circumstances.

There is the concept of bifurcation, to which Poincaré gave a specific meaning (after R. Thoma, who makes frequent use of the term "catastrophe"). Under the influence of a slowly growing external pressure, the system gradually changes while retaining its basic features. However, there is a maximal limit of a load which, once reached, leads to a disruption of the linear course of development. The system quickly converts into a qualitatively new status. It is theoretically impossible to predict the nature of this status. It is impossible in principle! It depends on an infinite number of random factors. Here is a simple example: into how many pieces and what type of pieces precisely would a stick break into if, as we bend it, we exceed the pressure which it can withstand?

The same situation prevails in the biosphere. So far it has withstood and ever growing anthropogenic pressure. At any given time, however, a bifurcation of the biosphere or of its most important fragments may take place. Should we exceed in any given parameter the maximally admissible stress, we would initiate irreversible processes which would lead the biosphere to an entirely new quasi-stable condition. The precise description of all of its specific features in advance would be impossible in principle. Nor could we predict whether the new biosphere would be suitable as a human habitat.

The essential unpredictability of the future fate of the biosphere and, consequently, of mankind, and the risk created by the increased anthropogenic stress makes it necessary for us to consider the question of determining the critical values among the most important (if not the most important!) among the problems which are facing society today. In order to solve it, we must create a new, a nontraditional area of scientific research which would require the combined efforts of specialists in a great variety of fields and new methodological and methodical foundations.

For the time being no program for such studies exists but its development has essentially been undertaken. The role of methods based on the simulation of biospheric processes with computers is clear. Such methods should become the framework of studies in this area. Actually, experiments on a global scale are inadmissible. However, having at our disposal models which simulate reality, we can study with the help of computer experimentation the possible consequences of any given large-scale influence exerted on the environment. Studies conducted by

Soviet and American specialists of the consequences of nuclear war are an example of such research. The results were assessments based not on a qualitative analysis but on precise quantitative computations. We are now extensively familiar with expressions such as "nuclear winter" and "nuclear night," and with the accurate picture of the catastrophic consequences of a thermonuclear conflict, which is one of the results obtained with the help of corresponding systems of mathematical models.

In the 1970s, on the basis of computer models, the USSR Academy of Sciences Computer Center undertook the study of biospheric processes on a global scale. The study of the possible consequences of nuclear war was only one of the projects. However, it alone provided major results (not only scientific). In particular, one of the points of the "forbidden threshold" was determined. We know today the amount of ash in the atmosphere which would result in a qualitative restructuring of the biosphere.

No more than the first steps have been taken to determine the consequences of large-scale influences on the biosphere. The way to this determination, however, is already becoming apparent. Such projects are gradually becoming fundamental in nature. I am confident that they will become the most important contribution to the future development of the noosphere.

Therefore, one of the research programs should be directed toward the study of the threshold of what is admissible, perhaps for the simple reason that without any malice whatsoever, for reasons of ignorance or greed, or else by virtue of deep-seated traditions and mental patterns, some people may open the gates to a drastic change in their own habitat. On a parallel basis with this program of natural scientific studies, we must mandatorily formulate a program for the study of the processes occurring within society.

The development of society and social relations is a continuing chain in the resolution of contradictions. It is the starting truth in the dialectical-materialistic understanding of the historical process and the foundation of any analysis of the evolution of society. Throughout the entire history of mankind antagonistic contradictions—class and governmental—have played a tremendous role. They appear uncompromising if we try to define them with mathematical strictness: what is good for some is bad for others. The solution of antagonistic contradictions has left in world history a long chain of real dramas and tragedies. Today the situation is changing. A common objective is becoming apparent among the numerous contradictory objectives pursued by individuals: ensuring the possible progress of civilization and the coevolution of man and biosphere. The natural sciences (the program of defining the "forbidden threshold") could provide the necessary knowledge of what would be impermissible whatever the circumstances. The social scientists must find ways which would enable us to correlate the actions of the population on the planet with

the objective limitations appearing within it. The common component of the interests of people of different classes and living in different countries creates objective prerequisites for compromise, for in order to achieve the common objective, everyone must give up something. Such is present-day reality.

At this point very few people realize the qualitative changes which have taken place in the situation on earth; the majority do not realize that it has become entirely different from what it was several decades ago. Nonetheless, studies in this area have been initiated. It is true that for the time being they are quite abstract. Nonetheless, some results are already apparent. Mathematical models have been developed, which enable us to analyze conflict situations. Within these models approaches have been found leading to compromises, which are possible precisely in connection with the existence within the range of conflicting objectives and conflicting size a major common objective: not crossing the "forbidden threshold." It is these results that enable us to assume that already now it is possible to include in the agenda the creation of international groups of competent specialists who can study conflict situations and suggest alternative compromises, which would be mutually advantageous jointly reached agreements. I would like to describe such groups as "agreement institutions."

Let me repeat, however, that such studies, for the time being, have not exceeded the limits of the elaboration of abstract models and that, unfortunately, they remain virtually unknown to people directly engaged in dealing with the specific (most important!) problems of our time.

IV.

I already tried to describe what in my view was the most important contribution to science made by V.I. Vernadskiy, and the new trends of thought and scientific research which appeared under the influence of his ideas. However, the significance of Vernadskiy's activities and of his scientific school and followers in various areas of knowledge is by no means exhausted with the new nontraditional research programs developed of late. Such activities legitimately lead to changes in the tradition of the natural sciences and are profoundly affecting the restructuring of philosophical thinking. For that reason I deem it expedient to go back to the question I discussed in the first part of this article.

The history of the natural sciences proves that the nature of its development has always been closely related to the overall picture of a world shaped by science and cultural tradition and universally acceptable during one age or another. Essentially, this picture determined the scale of scientific values, the views held by researchers and the main aspirations of the mind. Invariably, tradition in the natural sciences was interwoven with culture and with concepts of humanism, as a system of social ideals.

The views of the ancient Greeks and the general picture of the world they created had a tremendous impact on the development of European culture. The people of antiquity did not split the cosmos, i.e., did not divide it into earth and sky. They considered both as inseparably united. Heavens were inhabited by the gods, who were amazingly similar to people, with all their faults and qualities. The world, the universe, the cosmos consisted not only of earth and sky but also of men and gods who could influence the course of events and actively interfered in them. This picture is consistent with the optimistic, the joyful perception of life and of the continuing interaction between men and gods, who could punish man but could also make him their equal and, in any case, who were prepared to help him.

For more than a thousand years, ancient Greek culture, the views of Aristotle and the ideas of Christianity were what determined above all the development of the natural sciences and the concepts of the universe. At one point, however, the European world entered the age of the Renaissance.

The age of the Renaissance was not only one of a reinterpretation of the cultural legacy but also of the shaping of a scientific method, the assertion of criticism. Everything was to be reconsidered, everything without exception! There were to be no unnecessary hypotheses to explain what was. The principle of "Occam's razor" was to become universal. Copernicus, Galileo and Newton were the threshold of rationalism and encyclopedism. This was a tremendous step forward toward the objectivizing of truth. However, the dialectics of life is such that any gain usually involves a loss: the picture of the world lost the integrity which it had been given by the ancient Greeks. The inevitable happened with the development of the scientific method: in his concept of the new science, man abandoned the universe, the cosmos although it is within this cosmos that specific laws develop, similar to those of a functioning automatic machine.

As a result of the scientific revolution made by Copernicus, Galileo and Newton, a tradition developed which repeatedly proved itself in scientific and engineering activities and which was definitively established in the 19th century. Therefore, in 19th century science, with its aspiration to develop visible and clear systems, similar to those of Kant and Laplace, and its deep conviction that the world is essentially quite simple, man turned into an outside observer who studied the world "from the outside." A strange contradiction appeared: man may exist but he exists as though by himself. Meanwhile, space and nature also exist separately. They could be combined, if one could use this term, only on the basis of religious views.

Darwinism was unable to surmount this division. Furthermore, it widened even further the gap between the vision of the world provided by classical physics and the phenomenon of man.

In the mid-19th century, however, a different concept arose which, for several years, was destined to play an outstanding role in the appearance of a new tradition which is today the foundation for a different totally non-Newtonian picture of the world, and which leads us to a new round of knowledge closer to the views of the ancient Greeks, the concept of the unity of the cosmos, i.e., of the unity between nature and man. Naturally, this is not a simple return. It has been enriched with acquired experience based on science. Gradually, once again man becomes an acting persona inseparable from the cosmos, one of its components. He now studies nature "from within," not as an observer but as a participant in events, realizing that even such a study can influence their course, aware of his involvement with processes occurring in space. This concept has been described as Russian cosmism. I am convinced that this a very important contribution to the treasury of European culture, a contribution which, unfortunately, is little known not only among the public at large but also among specialists both abroad and at home.

One of the features of the Russian philosophical school of the 19th century was a profound combination of natural scientific with philosophical thinking and their very strong reciprocal influence. The influence of philosophical views on the nature of the work of natural scientists and the choice of areas of their activities and evaluation of results were particularly noticeable. In some cases it was quite difficult to distinguish between the views of a natural scientist and a philosophical (or, more accurately, nature-philosophical) analysis. This is a peculiar phenomenon which, unquestionably, deserves particular consideration, which I leave to professionals in the history of the natural sciences and philosophy.

Naturally, the reaction to 18th century European rationalism and to efforts to reduce anything observable to extremely simple systems is not a purely Russian phenomenon. However, whereas in the West such criticism was essentially inherent of philosophers, in Russia it had a substantial influence on the development of a domestic natural scientific school.

The history of natural sciences in Russia may be presented in different ways and so could the assessment of their role in the overall progress of science. It is unquestionable, however, that starting with the second third of the 19th century, a galaxy of Russian scientists developed, oriented toward the creation of systemic structures. Let us note above all that it was precisely in Russia that Darwin's theory found particularly favorable grounds for its development and for a profound understanding of its foundations.

Let us single out two names among the Russian natural scientists of the second half of the 19th century: first, I.M. Sechenov. He has numerous followers to this day.

He believed that it was necessary to study man in a state of unity among his mind, physiology and environment, as a product of the environment which he could actively influence.

The second is that of S.N. Vinogradskiy, one of the creators of microbiology. His discovery of hemosynthesis is, unquestionably, one of the outstanding accomplishments of the second half of the 19th century, for it forced a consideration of the problem of life in an entirely new light. The very formulation of the question of whether life could exist without being based on photosynthesis, a life which would use other sources of energy, is in itself incredibly daring.

We could include in these ranks several other outstanding scientists. All of them showed an amazing breadth of views and the aspiration to study a phenomenon in its entirety, and to see its place in the stream of different facts. Let me point out that in the second half of the 19th century a certain reinterpretation took place in Russia of the content and objectives of scientific research as they had been established in the 18th century. This applied to everything—chemistry, biology and geophysics. It was that same channel that V.I. Vernadskiy followed in his own scientific activities.

It so happened, let me reemphasize this, that it was simultaneously, both in the natural sciences and in philosophy, that a certain reaction to Western European rationalism developed. One may have different views concerning the circle of lovers of wisdom and the slavophilic trend. However, it was precisely Ivan Kireyevskiy who expressed the very important statement to the effect that the cold intellectual rationalism of the age of Enlightenment led to the loss of unity in the vision of the world. He saw the gap and contradictions between the rational vision of the world, which had developed in the 18th century, and the irrationality of the human "I." Naturally, he was not alone. It would be inadmissible to forget and ignore the views expressed by N.F. Fedorov on the "common cause," on the fact that the future of mankind and the future of nature are inseparable and are the common cause of all people who must learn how to control nature in their own interests and not senselessly waste its limited resources.

Russian cosmism was an original trend of thought but by no means a school with its own principles and dogmas. It was merely a general concept of activities, shared by broad circles of the intelligentsia, which included people of very different political and philosophical prejudices, ranging from natural scientists and convinced materialists, such as Vernadskiy, to the ideologues of orthodoxy. Within the framework of Russian cosmism the contradictions created in the age of Enlightenment were being surmounted and, as in the past, the picture of the world was acquiring integrity and unity. Once again man was becoming part of nature and was included within the system of its laws which were as yet to be defined. The development of the mind, according to the views of the

cosmists was as much a natural process as the movement of the planets. Thinking was the most important component of the global evolutionary process. Nature and the cosmos were what created man and to which he owed his reason. Man must study nature and study himself and the place of his reason within it. He must act not as an outside observer, as a biologist studying the movement of bacteria under a microscope, but as a participant in the entire process of the evolution of nature, not only experiencing on himself the influence of space and natural processes but also as a bearer of intelligence, who can influence them, sometimes purposefully.

V.

I have tried to describe the intellectual atmosphere in which V.I. Vernadskiy's outlook was shaped, the outlook of a natural scientist, materialist and philosopher. Only one step separates intensive activities conducted within this atmosphere and the theory of the noosphere. However, this step required the interpretation of a huge volume of experimental data and surmounting the type of natural scientific traditions which had determined the development of the natural sciences in the 18th century. This applied above all to leaving behind the strictly disciplinary limits and the undertaking of studies on an interdisciplinary nature. Vernadskiy's initial work in geochemistry had already indicated the direction followed in his scientific creativity. We can easily find in the development of his views and their systematic logic the natural scientific and philosophical tradition of Russian philosophy of the second half of the 19th century, which I have already discussed.

The theory of the noosphere turned out to be precisely the link which enabled us to connect the picture created by contemporary physics to the overall panoramic development of life, not only the biological evolution but social progress as well. The combination of these three principles within a single system becomes particularly impressive in the context of the ideas of contemporary synergism. A great many things are still unclear to and hidden from us. Nonetheless, we see today the deployment of a tremendous hypothetical picture of the process of self-organization of matter, from the "big bang" to the contemporary stage, when matter becomes aware of itself, when it acquires reason which can ensure its purposeful development.

Modern physics enables us to see the continuing process of self-development of inanimate (inert, to use Vernadskiy's expression) matter. Its condition is far from being balanced. Quasi-stable formations arise from the chaos: entire worlds, galaxies and metagalaxies, among which there is a continuing exchange of matter and energy. They break down, die, turn once again into chaos, providing material for new formations. Something else which is very important is that in the process of this tremendous restructuring true development takes place. New and ever more complex forms of organization of matter appear. It is as though nature has prepared a

certain number of organizational structures for the existence of matter, consistent with its laws and gradually a growing number of them become "activated."

This process of self-organization has not only been understood but also traced in a great number of details by physicists and chemists. Works completed in recent decades on the evolution of biological macromolecules have brought us close to the "threshold of life." However, we still have no model whatsoever which would explain the way in which this process was covered by the global evolutionary process. A hypothesis remains, which is as fundamental as that of the "big bang:" life is a cosmic phenomenon. It is a natural stage in the self-organization of matter. The fact that life appeared on earth is not a denial but a support of this hypothesis.

The process of exchange of energy and, consequently, the processes of the metabolism of animate matter, become drastically intensified with the appearance of life. Reason is one more level on the way of the global evolutionary process, one more of its most important stages and qualitative restructuring, as a result of which the influence of sensible forms of life—of mankind—on nature begins to increase at a headlong pace. The global evolutionary process is approaching a new threshold—the age of the noosphere, the age of controlled development. However, has the transition come to an end? It cannot do so automatically, as we now realize. Mankind itself must select from the arsenal of possible organizational forms of its existence those which can ensure such a transition.

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Information science: From Computer Literacy of School Children to Information Standard in Society

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[Article by Andrey Petrovich Yershov, academy member, head of the Department of Information Science and programming, USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department Computer Center, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on the Cybernetics comprehensive problem]

[Text]

I

Information science is a relatively new term in modern scientific and technical vocabulary. This term, which appeared at the start of the 1980s in scientific publications, was used interchangeably with the concepts of

"cybernetization," "computerization," and "electronization," until it assumed equal status with symbols of scientific and technical and social progress in our country, such as electrification, collectivization and industrialization.

Information science implies a set of steps aimed at ensuring the full utilization of reliable, exhaustive and timely knowledge of all socially significant types of human activities. Information science, i.e., the sum total of knowledge of actual data and the correlation among them, becomes in this case a strategic resource of society as a whole, greatly determining its ability to develop successfully. Increasingly, computers and means of communication are becoming a technical means of developing such a resource.

Information science is a universal and inevitable period in the development of human civilization, a period during which the information picture of the world is mastered, an awareness is gained of the unity among the laws governing the functioning of information in nature and society, their practical application and the creation of an information production and processing industry. Contemporary systems for information processing and transmission form a kind of nervous system of the living organism of human society, ascribing to this organism an unparalleled plasticity and the ability to develop.

The philosophical and specific-scientific interpretation of the role of information science in natural and social processes appeared essentially in recent decades. In the history of the development of mankind, information processes within it initially played a most important role. Their roots can be traced in the very essence of living nature and beyond it, in the mechanisms of permanency and change, development and learning, reflexes and instincts, and behavior and intercourse. The purely human ability of speech and thought, the creation of consumer goods and works of art and awareness and knowledge, brought to life a variety of complex processes of accumulation, memorization, transmission and processing of information. The historical sources of information science may be traced also to the creation of artificial means of information storage and transmittal. The main landmarks along this way were the appearance of literacy, printing, the mail, periodicals, the telegraph, the telephone, photography and, in our time, radio, television and xerographic printing.

II

Given such a rich past, the natural question which arises is the following: Why is it that it is only now that we speak of information science as a special factor in the development of civilization?

The answer lies in two interconnected phenomena of our time.

The first is the creation of computers in the middle of this century and their phenomenal development. The use of computers and computer programs radically changed man's possibility to process information. The human brain remains the unsurpassed creation of nature in terms of its ability to process information. However, we should distinguish between at least two types of information processes in the human brain. The first is that of processes which are fully or partially controlled by programs of subconscious activity, both "built-in" at birth and developed under the influence of practical experience. These include programs for controlling vision, memory and development of learning abilities; and programs which guide various aspects of our intuition, speech, and so on. The nature of most of them remains unknown and in terms of their performance man is superior to any computer. However, other types of information processes exist as well, controlled by human discursive thinking: they are aimed at achieving a certain objective and require reasoning. They apply to the preponderant majority of labor skills. Such processes can be clearly divided into individual logical steps and take place at a speed of no more than a few steps per second. It is precisely in the area of data processing that the computer proves to be much faster than man, performing in a single second from several hundred thousand logical steps in microprocessors and personal computers to several billion operations in the so-called supercomputers. A computer, however, can apply its ability for superfast information processing only after man has supplied it his knowledge in the guise of a program, and presented the information to be processed in a form entered in the computer memory.

The second phenomenon is the steady increase in the role of information processes in social life. An "official" is a somewhat loose description popular in our country. In writings about capitalist countries we encounter expressions, such as "white collar worker" or "clerk." We have borrowed from history and are using, half-jokingly the word "official." We refer to administrators, investing a great varieties of shades of meaning in the term. Finally, all of us hate the figure of the bureaucrat.

Abstracting ourselves from the emotional coloring of such concepts, we could see that they refer to a large category of people who do not create material values, as plant workers, builders and farmers do. They do not work with people, as do physicians, artists and teachers. They deal with information, in its so-called "pure aspect," constantly solving their main problem, which is to provide the necessary timely information to those who need it.

Gradually, employees are becoming an increasingly larger category of the active population. At the beginning of the 1980s, in the United States they accounted for more than 50 percent of the total hired labor. In the USSR, this indicator increased between 1939 and 1986 from 16 to 30 percent. We have as yet to study the nature and reasons for this growing trend. For the time being,

let us note that the extensive development of the area of servicing information processes in society is close to its possible limit and is becoming a source of contradictions and increased inefficiency. In that same United States labor productivity of people employed in industry almost doubled between 1970 and 1980, whereas that of employees increased by no more than 4 percent. It is precisely the so-called third industrial revolution, the pivot of which is information science and whose main tool is the computer, is called upon to eliminate this contradiction which was inherent in the preceding period in the development of production forces.

Thousands of specific reasons create the need for information science. Nonetheless, they could be grouped around the main and worsening contradiction between the means used by developing mankind in meeting its needs and the limited nature of the resources of his habitat. It is not simply a question of size, i.e., of increased physical volumes of consumption. An inherent characteristic of the artificial human habitat, combined with the earth's natural environment, is its ever-growing complexity or, in other words, the multiplication of its parts and their interdependence. The reliability and stability of the habitat and the very structure of the global community are drastically reduced as a result of the increased number and variety of trends of all kinds of technical and social forces. The objective nature of the laws of management requires the formulation by mankind of systems which would anticipate the dynamic regulation of mankind's development on all levels of manifestation of our activeness, ranging from individual activity to universal human institutions. Through billions of actions of reflection, mankind encompasses within itself a certain information model of the world which, however, contained and diluted within mankind moves and manifests itself in the guise of one-time unique historical experience.

Information science enables mankind to "abstract" such an information model from itself and to put it in the overall computer memory and submit it to anticipatory predictions and multiple-variant studies and, therefore, to control, with the help of the available knowledge embodied in the programs and data bank of computer networks. To pursue this metaphor of information science as the structure of the nervous system of the human community, let us compare the evolution of the animal and the plant worlds. One of the basic differences between them is the existence of a nervous system in the former and the absence of it in the latter. Both exist in our present world. However, plants have remained, roughly speaking, the same as they were hundreds of millions of years ago, whereas the animal world developed through thousands of intermediary forms to the level of man who, himself now is largely controlling the evolution of life, including his own.

III

But let us go back to a more specific consideration of information science. Let us address ourselves in particular to the experience of the United States, where this

process has already been developed and expanded, and which enables us not only to look at the horizons of total information science but also to define some time parameters of this global phenomenon.

Like any structural change and a kind of transition phase, the accelerated information science of society has had a beginning, a period of fast development and, finally, the limit in its saturation indicators.

The beginning of information science in the United States can be traced to the 1940s, when successes in radio broadcasting proved and established the unparalleled power of the mass information media, when the comprehensive establishment of telephone communications in the country was set as a national program and when a new scientific and technical area—radio electronics—appeared and, on its basis, so did the first computers.

The development and mass production of so-called superlarge integrated systems—electronic systems for information processing and storage—were an outstanding achievement of the 1970s, which made it possible to consider the definitive aspects of information science. In the final account, the microprocessors and portable personal computers which were developed on their basis could be installed into any machine and thus could assure any work place of a practically unlimited information-computing capacity. The development of a comprehensive communications environment, based on communications satellites and optical fiber systems, provided information systems with unparalleled mobility and a potential universal accessibility. The material foundation of radical information science is the hierarchy of the means of computerization and communication, which imbue the entire human habitat. Let us consider its volume in terms of areas such as the USSR, Western Europe or the United States, with a socially active segment of the population in the range of 200-300 million people. This "nervous system" has its endings in the "technosphere," which is the sum total of all machines servicing man, from wrist watches to passenger airliners. The average is 10 such devices per person. Virtually all of them have a microprocessor with a capacity of up to 1 billion operations per second: combined, they total some 2-3 billion microprocessors. The other primary structure is access to a universal system of communications or, in simple terms, the telephone. Bearing in mind the mobility of the population and in order to ensure the possibility of "everyone to communicate with everyone else," the number of accesses to the system is some half-a-billion telephone sets. Personal computers, both home and professional, i.e., those operating at work places, are also be connected with that system. Their average capacity ranges from one to several million operations per second and their total number is 300 to 400 million units.

This lower stratum of individual support of information science can be combined around "small" units with a power of 10-20 million operations per second, located in

the primary cells of economic and other organized activities. In a developed society, such cells would be in the order of 10 million. The next level of the hierarchy is that of territorial and subsectorial computing centers for shared time use (VTsKP), in which their respective information stocks are combined and intra- and inter-territorial transmission of information takes place. The VTsKP are serviced by large machines whose power may reach hundreds of millions of operations per second or even more. The number of such centers is proportional to the product of the number of sectors multiplied by that of territorial units and will be in the hundreds of thousands.

Standing at the peak of this pyramid are some 1,000 supercomputers with maximal productivity, which could be rated within the foreseeable period as operating at 10 billion operations per second.

This infrastructure which, added to the technosphere, could be described as the infosphere, could be characterized by an indicator such as specific information availability, i.e., the sum of computer power in terms of population size. This volume of the infosphere can be assessed in terms of specific information facility, as averaging 10 to 20 million operations per second per person.

This figure helps us to determine the provisional limits of the accelerated progress toward total information science. The initial development of computers, reaching an information availability of 10 operations per second per person and coinciding with the creation of a direct dialing long distance telephone network, is the "critical mass" which allows us to upgrade information facilities by a factor of 10 each 8 to 10 years. The USSR reached the starting point of information science at the beginning of the 1970s which, according to my estimates, allows us to speak of achieving full information science in our country, given favorable circumstances, in the years 2030-2040.

Naturally, the entire pyramid of computing, memorizing and transmitting systems and the terminal equipment are merely the mechanisms, the containers and the transport networks of information science. The infosphere becomes alive after its memory has been fed the entire information wealth of mankind, the mechanism has been activated by controlling programs and the terminal equipment has been permanently linked with the areas where information is generated, consumed and disseminated in all parts of the human and machine worlds.

The information resources of mankind are naturally divided into private information for the individual, the social memory of human communities and current information, which is generated steadily and constantly in the course of the perception and realization by mankind of any event occurring in the world.

The personal information is stored in the human mind. It is man's individual property and although it may be taken from him in the guise of records and files, including some encoded in machines, it nonetheless remains his sovereign possession.

The social memory of mankind is the accumulating and the twice socialized information, so to say. To begin with, it is separated from its source, being codified in the guise of a document. Second, it has a special status which ensures its accessibility either to society at large or to a given social group.

Despite its entire seemingly infinite nature, the information resource of mankind can be subject to quantitative evaluation and, in our time, accounts for several hundred million information symbols per person, i.e., several hundred average-sized books.

The task of information science, in terms of its technical content, is to load and activate the information stock of mankind within the global computer network. The most obvious surface task is the electronic "photographing" of the information stock, its transfer from paper to so-called machine carriers, which enable us to store information in the computer memory, to duplicate it instantaneously and to transmit it along lines of communications at the speed of the telegraph, telephone, radio and television.

This transfer, however, must be accompanied by the radical restructuring of the information stock, which makes human knowledge accessible for use with the help of computers, robots and cybernetic systems. In other words, the information stock of mankind must be restructured as data base, knowledge base and program. The data base consists of factual knowledge and the enumeration and description of the features of anything that exists. The knowledge base is the conceptual general knowledge: the definition of concepts, laws of nature, rules and statutes. The program implies operational knowledge (how to do something, how to solve a problem, how to achieve an objective), expressed in the guise of strict rules, prescriptions and algorithms which may be automatically applied.

Despite its vast scale, the structuring of the infosphere is a sectorial assignment for specialists who, although consisting of an impressive army of 2-3 million mathematicians, information specialists, programmers, electronic specialists, communications workers and representatives of many specialized sciences, are nonetheless merely a small segment of the active population. The most labor-intensive process which accounts for the very essence of information science and which, in its comprehensiveness can be compared to the volume of national economic and social activeness of the entire society, involves the process of "coupling" the living fabric of society with the nervous system which grows within it. It includes changes in machine and technology generations, the

development of new labor habits and skills, the restructuring of tens of millions of work places, and the changing of the forms and, in frequent cases, the content of billions of instruments of economic and administrative management. Therefore, information science is inseparably related to the general run of scientific and technical progress in the country and, to a large extent, is its pivot.

In concluding this section, let us note that the overall cost of building an infosphere in the space of a half century would be on the order of two-three annual budgets for the entire area which, in the case of the United States for example, would equal the cost of the automotive transportation infrastructure.

IV

At this point, should our reader interrupt his reading and look around he would notice an apparent inconsistency between the imaginary (albeit expensive) castles in the air of the infosphere, as described to him, and the obvious disorganization of our life, particularly in its daily manifestations. The mediocre well-being based on primitive equalization, difficulties with food supplies and housing, overstress, the alarming signs of degradation of the power and transportation infrastructures and the excessively high share of unskilled and manual labor are our entire "real life" which demands instant action and immediate concentration of all accessible resources. Considering this "emergency situation" could it be that any discussion of a half century program is nothing but one more "...tion" of the latest technocratic arbitrariness and a philosophizing ostentation? Such questions are all too real and serious to be ignored.

Let us immediately point out that there is no "final" and categorical answer to such questions. The postulates to them always include a subjective sociopolitical factor determined by the self-awareness of the society and its choice of a historical path. Furthermore, no specific study can claim to provide an exhaustive analysis in the search for an answer to such questions. Therefore, the consequent substantiation of information science will be, to begin with, incomplete; second, it will proceed on the basis of the positive concept that we not only wish to set our own home in order but also deem it our international task to strengthen and renovate socialism, to spread humanism to all areas of social activities and to make a consistent and, if possible, substantial contribution to the solution of the global problems of mankind. Another observation is called for which, on the one hand, instills optimism but, on the other, calls for caution: discussions on the subject of information science echo the heated debates of the 1920s, when problems of electrification and industrialization had to be solved along with the fastest possible healing of the bleeding wounds of the world and civil wars and, at the same time, the elimination of oppression and the underdeveloped nature of previous socioeconomic systems.

What can we say in favor of the timeliness, urgency and attainability of information science in Soviet society? Essentially, we can repeat the question raised at the beginning of this article. Now, however, as a corollary to the epic arguments of a futurological plan, we turn to the realities of our time.

First of all, in countries where structural changes in the national economy are coordinated with the pace of scientific and technical progress information science has already attained a scope which lets us project, in a certain sense, the completion and the socioeconomic consequences of the accelerated development of the contemporary infosphere.

At the beginning of 1987, the building of the infosphere in the United States could be expressed with the following order of indicators (for 180 million active adult population:

Built-in microprocessors: 1 billion

Telephone system: 200 million sets

Personal computers and automated jobs: 50 million

Minicomputers: 1 million

Mainframe computers: 300,000

Supercomputers: 200

The sum total of financial and commercial accountability and managerial operations carried out with the help of computers and electronic communications, accounts for 60 percent of the total. The amount of information transmitted through electronic mail can already be compared to the amount of mail correspondence, equaling tens of billions of pieces. The global production of information technology means (equipment, software, data transmission, information-computation services) totaled \$200 billion in 1986, more than one half of which is in the United States. The overall volume of U.S. economic activities in information processing in 1986 accounted for 60 percent of the gross national product. A total information society in the United States is forecast for the second decade of the 21st century.

Thanks to the activeness of multinational companies, competition, technology transfer and other integration processes, accelerated information science is being extended to the countries in Western Europe, Japan, Canada and Australia and, in recent years, to a number of developing countries in the Arab world, Southeast Asia and South America.

Information science is already positively influencing the growth of labor productivity and the increased role of resource and nature conservation technologies. It has reduced the time needed in design and construction, and has improved the quality of services, particularly in

trade and medicine. It is important to note that such results cannot be achieved by any other means. Knowledge and information are an irreplaceable resource.

These considerations are, so to say, the external imperative of information science. Let us go back to the study of our internal postulates. The building of the infosphere is distinguished by its energy- or material intensiveness, although it formulates strict requirements concerning the production of a number of particularly pure materials and items in the area of precision mechanics. Naturally, information science is a highly "knowledge-intensive" activity. However, as we know, knowledge is the only resource the use of which does not deplete but, conversely, increases its volume.

The mood of cleansing criticism and the emphasis on unsolved problems should not push aside the albeit separate yet real elements of information science, which are manifested in our social life. The machine printouts of bills for long distance telephone calls, which we find in our mail boxes, airline tickets issued through the Sirena system, electronic images of the central press, transmitted with satellite systems, and selective communications by the minister of railroads with any railroad in the country, the picture of the Galileo Comet which was received in every home, space systems for navigation and observation of the environment, and television cross-linkage are all part of the reality of our life which also create the prerequisites and the need for the further development of information science.

Let us also mention scientific thinking. Let us point out that the Marxist thesis to the effect that science becomes a direct productive force was the first political slogan based on the concept that knowledge and information are a strategic social resource. It would be pertinent to recall the works of Academician A.N. Nesmeyanov, USSR Academy of Sciences president, in the 1950s, on developing a global network for the dissemination of social information. It was precisely under his presidency that an all-union system for the dissemination of scientific and technical information and a network of cybernetics and computer institutes were created.

The global role played by computers in the management of economic life of society was substantiated in the works of Academicians A.I. Berg and V.M. Glushkov. By the end of the 1960s the development of their ideas led to the formulation of several governmental programs for the development of automated control systems, time-share computer centers and data transmission systems which, however, were not given the necessary scope and, in the subsequent years of stagnation, were essentially set aside. The need arose for an overall systematic, methodological and philosophical substantiation of the role of scientific knowledge and information in the life of society, helped by a number of works written by our social scientists.

It is only in recent years that the need for establishing a technical base for information science was realized. The USSR Academy of Sciences regrouped its forces: it opened a new department of information science, computers and automation and set up about 10 research institutes oriented toward the development of new information technologies. Programs for the accelerated production of computers were drafted, which will enable us in the 1990s to have millions of computers and for the speed of supercomputers to reach billions of operations per second. The USSR State Committee for Computers and Information Science was established to coordinate the governmental programs.

In the spring of 1985 the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers passed a resolution whose importance would be impossible to overestimate. It assigned the first 100,000 Soviet personal computers to education and the introduction of a general course in the foundations of information science and computers in secondary schools. The concept of "computer literacy" became firmly embedded in the social consciousness, implying a mastery of the skill to solve problems with the help of computers, the ability to plan actions and to predict their consequences, and to understand the basic ideas of information science, as well as to have an idea of the role of information technologies in social life. This daring initiative enjoys social support in all areas involving the use of computers. As the young generation grows, this support will become both a motive force and a guarantee for the development of information science.

The objective inevitability of social information science does not mean in itself that any specific program for its implementation is, so to say, bound to succeed. The infosphere which has a number of "difficult" features, features which are inherent in any global infrastructure, is exceptionally sensitive to the human factor. Although it includes the mass information media as a structural component, in no case can it be reduced to them. The relatively simple and uniform distribution function of mass information media should be expanded with a variety of means to support man's creative activities with a view toward enhancing their social productivity without violating its intimate and individual nature.

Let us consider the key problems of social information science in the USSR, as it advances from its technical foundations to its social superstructure.

In terms of the technical means of the infosphere, organizing the mass production of computers and means of communications is a key problem. Our industry must do a great deal more to solve it. Individual and small-series production of computers is still prevalent. Its scale bears no comparison with the volume needed by the infosphere. We shall have to build automated plants of an entirely new type, of tremendous productivity, combined with extreme product reliability, which would allow long repair-free use. The specific value of the infosphere, in comparable prices, must not exceed

10,000 rubles per person and the annual cost of its use and attachments, no more than 100 rubles. The current outlays correlated with a comparable value of information-computer capacities, exceed these figures by approximately 30 and 100 times.

The next key problem is the organization of industrial production for meeting the needs of the infosphere: software, data base and knowledge. Several unique features make the software and information systems industry noteworthy and difficult. Its development is a manifestation of a historically new process of separating knowledge and information from their human principle and delegating to machine systems not only a significant portion of labor processes but also a large number of control functions and management decisions. At this point an entire layer of problems appears, in which priority is assigned to the problem of infallibility and reliability of software. Currently the level of "purity" of the average software product is in the order of 99.99 percent, or one error per 10,000 strokes of a program text. This is adequate for a number of uses of computers, conducted under human supervision. However, this risk is excessively high under conditions of full automation. The range of such automation extends from problems of the safe behavior of a robot in a plant to the sword of Damocles controlling "star wars" programs. At the present time the scientific discipline of programming is being developed. It will enable us, in the course of progress toward total information science, to upgrade the level of freedom from error of programs hundreds of times. However, a certain limit of admissible complexity of an artificial system will always be present. Developing a safe distance from this limit is one of the new tasks for the survival of mankind.

The most relevant aspect of the problem of supplying the infosphere is the economics of the software and information systems industry. The formulation of programs and data or knowledge bases is a unique combination of traditionally incompatible work styles: the creative inspiration of a literary or artistic worker, the abstract and slow thinking of a mathematician and the discipline, pragmatism and purposefulness of the engineer. A measure for this specific type of work must be found. We must be able to define the consumer value of a software product and find means for the self-development of this newly developing economic sector. Its expected sales, according to our assessments, should range between 10 and 20 billion rubles by the start of the 21st century, and double each 5 years.

The entire body of engineers in our country is facing a very profound and serious problem. A built-in computer gives a machine entirely new properties: the ability for automatic work and self-control, interacting with the user in converting from the language of physical signals to that of meaningful concepts. The means of computer support are radically changing the pace and the very principles of machine designing. Priority is given to

mathematical models of machines and information systems for their behavior. Designing becomes multi-variant and computer-based experiments are added to physical tests. Any machine model must be designed not simply as a separate system with a user or operator screened from the external world yet organically integrated with the infosphere.

V

Whereas the problems of information science we listed, despite their range and importance, are nonetheless of a relatively isolated nature, affecting professionally identifiable social sectors, the key problems which we shall now discuss, are of a universal nature which covers both the technosphere and society as a whole, on all levels of its activities.

As we pointed out, as it interacts with the environment, mankind develops within it, as a result of reflections and knowledge, an information model of the world. Its social segment assumes a clearly material aspect with the utilization of all kinds of symbols invented by mankind, the alphabet above all.

The objective need to create and convey this social part of the information model has led, today, to the fact that behind every producer working in the material world, stands a "hanger-on," an employee who mediates between the producer and the information model and, through it, between the rest part of society and the material world.

Information science both prescribes and allows subjecting the labor and purpose of employees to radical restructuring.

Man plays a dual role in servicing information models. On the one hand, as a result of creative action, man gains new knowledge and enriches the information model. This part of the work is unique and irreplaceable. On the other hand, essentially, man shapes and regulates the process of the daily reflection of the material world in the information model. Despite its variety, this part of the work is formal, regulated by the objective laws of nature and the development of the social production forces. While acting as an information machine, man also socializes this type of work, introducing within it group and individual interests, lowering its efficiency and creating an obstruction mechanism in this area. Bureaucratic distortions, figure padding and other official abuses are simply the extreme manifestations of the cost of the human factor.

Building-in information processing data into machinery, the automation of work places and their integration with the infosphere enable us to "shorten" information flows from the material world to the "electronic archives of mankind." The concept of the document will not disappear but its original, in a single copy, will appear and will be stored in a separate infosphere, while its hard copy

will appear as a result of reliable machine procedures. This precisely is the essence of the concept of "paper-free information science," which was the title of the familiar book by V.M. Glushkov.

Therefore, information science will not only relieve mankind from a huge volume of unproductive and essentially "bureaucratic" labor but will also cleanse its information structure from the distorting influence of the subjective factor. As an objective process, information science will contribute to the highest possible extent to narrowing the base on which bureaucracy exists and reproduces itself.

However, we must realize that the process of shifting labor to the production area is fraught with periods of social stress and is a major test of any sociohistorical system. The global process of automating the work of employees will be no exception in this area.

The development of full information science in society will make the overall social knowledge potentially accessible to any person. It is only such a universal potential accessibility that will bring us close to the implementation of the premise of the communist ideal: from each according to his capabilities. Capability cannot be planned. It requires for its manifestation a number of prerequisites but can be achieved only on the initiative of man himself. Capability is multiplied by knowledge. Therefore, a guarantee of the basic right of man to knowledge and information becomes yet another cornerstone of developing socialism.

It would be naive to assume that all we need is to increase the volume of the electronic infosphere in order easily to offer anyone an unlimited access to any stock of information. An excess of information is as shackling as insufficient knowledge. Information can be both good and detrimental. Within each cell of its structure, society seeks an optimal balance between stability and variability. Stability is precisely characterized by the degree of rejection of interaction, i.e., of unnecessary information. In any society such objective cybernetic laws have their social manifestation in the system of legal relations in the area of the infosphere. All other conditions being equal, the social system wherein the way to developing the positive capabilities of man will be straight, broad and legally protected will prove the more efficient.

In my view, great efforts will be required in this area to surmount vestiges of command-administrative management systems in our society.

Without aspiring to an exhaustive discussion of such a difficult problem, let us consider some of its aspects.

On a broad level, we must rehabilitate the concept of individual initiative. Under the conditions of a capitalist society, such initiative can be used only by investing

capital. The entrepreneur can assess the usefulness of his activities only on the basis of resulting profit. As a result, any socially useful activity is directly related to the reproduction of capital.

We must realize, however, that under contemporary conditions both the premises for and social usefulness of private initiative could have a physical manifestation for which a given social system must have an accurate rating. In any case, there also are essential features in private initiative, such as its unpredictability and attainability influenced by a random coincidence of capabilities, knowledge, interest and social need.

One of the obstacles on the way to releasing creative initiative and using new knowledge is, in my view, the institutional appointment of individuals in charge of progress in a given economic sector, such as defining the head organizations "responsible" for the development of a given scientific area. The systematic implementation of this principle on all levels of the administrative ladder creates manifestations of monopoly, servility on the part of so-called sectorial science, and the intolerance of or inability to understand another person's idea. Society must have a mechanism for the utilization of new knowledge, wherever it may appear and whoever its carrier may be.

Another vestige of the administrative-command system is broadening to the point of absurdity the concept of "official information." Bureaucratic usurping of the right to information gained in a given area of administrative management, leads to the constant violation of social justice, which calls for equal access rights to socially significant information which, like other social values, is the property of the whole people. The absence or underdevelopment of legislative stipulations on the right to information, combined with the existing system of practical limitations, lead to the degradation of library and archive work and to information sclerosis. It increases the likelihood of making wrong decisions, replaces knowledge with myths and, above all, hinders creative activity.

The democratization of the information structure in society is both a prerequisite and a premise for its viability and its ability to grow.

The establishment of an information society is, above all, a tremendous scientific and technical problem. However, it also has incalculable social consequences. It influences civilization as a whole. By virtue of its system, socialist society has all the necessary possibilities for implementing the social function of information science on a planned and harmonious basis, through its educational institutions.

The first step, which provided secondary school graduates in 1987 with the foundations of computer literacy, has already been taken. This situation must be preserved in the future as well, when the stages of information

science will be anticipated with a corresponding change in public education. Roughly each 5 years a wave of computerization in schools will encompass two younger age groups and will be paralleled by the generalization of the idea of information science and the intensification of its ties to the other sciences and the expanded use of the computer as an organic tool in the education process.

A similar spread in the use of computers in laboratory work and in labor classes, both optional and part of vocational guidance, will be aimed at the older age groups, training young people for professional work with information-computer facilities at the work place or in the VUZ.

As we approach full information science, computers in schools will become totally integrated with school work in all grades and all subjects and foundations of computer knowledge learned by students in the 1980s will grow into a social information structure in the first decades of the 21st century.

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Lenin's Political Will

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[Report by N. Bukharin, submitted at the commemorative session on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of Lenin's death. This report, published in its entirety, is based on the work by N.I. Bukharin *Politicheskoye Zaveshchaniye Lenina* [Lenin's Political Will] Izdatelstvo Pravda and Bednota, Moscow, 1929. References to V.I. Lenin's works are based on volume 45 of his *Poln. Sobr. Soch.* [Complete Collected Works]. References indicate volume and page only]

[Text] Comrades: the works by great people—and our deceased teacher and leader was one of the greatest—are a particular wonderful treasury of ideas. One must choose from the outstanding variety in this treasury. We must limit our topic, for the wealth of the ideological legacy is inexhaustible and infinite. I shall therefore limit the topic of my address to Lenin's political will, i.e., the sum of thoughts which Vladimir Ilich left behind as his final, his wisest and most considerate words, as his final and most thoroughly conceived directive. I shall speak of the heartfelt and brilliant plan for the entire work left to the party which Lenin created, led and brought to victory, which he headed in the heroic iron days of the civil war, which he reorganized and once again led into battle at the beginning of the age of great economic undertakings.

The most important thing of what Comrade Lenin left to us may be found in five of his noteworthy and most meaningful articles "Pages From the Diary," "On Our

Revolution," "How to Reorganize the Rabkrin," "Better Less But Better," and "On the Cooperative." All of these articles, if we look at them closely, are not isolated and disjointed bits but organic parts of one major whole, of a big plan of Leninist strategy and tactics, a plan formulated on the basis of an entirely defined prospect which was anticipated through the brilliant and sharp eyes of the leader of the global revolutionary forces.

I know quite well that all of these articles have been repeatedly quoted and that virtually every single sentence in them has been studied. To this day, however, there is one gap which I would like to fill at the present commemorative ceremony. It is that so far, to the best of my knowledge, no effort has been made to analyze all of these articles in their interconnection, and to understand them precisely as part of a major long-term plan for our entire communist work.

On the eve of the 6th year of the day of the painful death of our teacher the following fear may arise: are we not endlessly philosophizing and are we not using hindsight in artificially connecting that which was to Vladimir Ilich nothing but separate although brilliant remarks? In fact, what common feature links the assessment of our entire revolution to remarks on how to reorganize the Rabkrin? Nonetheless, the author of these articles himself considered them as the expression of a kind of integral plan.

As far as the article on the Rabkrin is concerned, it may appear as though this is "merely" an "isolated" problem, about which Lenin wrote: "Here is the way I link in my thoughts a general plan for our work, our policy and our tactics and strategy to the tasks of the reorganized Rabkrin" (p 405).

If we look closely at the articles which Lenin wrote on the eve of his death we can see that they also include an overall assessment of our revolution from the viewpoint of the possibility of building socialism in our country and general and clearly outlined boundaries of our development, a very deep, albeit quite brief, analysis of the international situation, the foundations of our strategy and tactics, problems of our economic construction, problems of the cultural revolution, problems dealing with the basic class correlations, the state apparatus and the organization of the masses and, finally, the organization of our party and its leadership. Actually, we cannot name a single somewhat major problem of our policy the study of which does not have a place in this overall plan developed by Comrade Lenin in his last directives. Lenin developed these most important problems of policy not from the viewpoint of a momentary and quickly changing situation: he formulated them from the viewpoint of "big politics," from the viewpoint of the broadest possible prospects, the general ways and the high road of our development. His analysis is not the analysis in petty detail of a small section but a huge canvas on which the mighty events of the historical

process are depicted with inordinate power, most convincing simplicity and expressiveness. It is from this analysis that Lenin draws tremendous conclusions. However, he subordinates to this analysis also relatively secondary organizational details. To present Ilich's entire plan as an entity is the task which I set myself today.

I. Overall Assessment of Our Revolution From the Viewpoint of the Possibility of Building Socialism

Let me start above all with the question of the general assessment of our revolution from the viewpoint of the possibility of building socialism in our country. This is a topic of the article precisely entitled "On Our Revolution." An initial (superficial) view could classify this article as incidental, almost as a review "commentary." This, however, would be absolutely wrong. In terms of its intent, this "remark" "On Our Revolution" is one of the most original and most daring works written by Vladimir Ilich. Naturally, he did not accidentally choose the topic "of our revolution," i.e., of making an assessment of this revolution and its possibilities as a whole. He anticipated that a variety of questions may come up concerning the building of socialism in our country; he knew that our working class may perhaps experience several waves of different "attacks" launched by parties which were once efficient as active political enemies within our country and by their successors, as well as renegades within our own party. He perfectly realized that various building difficulties may again and again face hesitating intellectuals with the question of the possibility of having socialism in our country; that secret admirers of "normal," capitalist relations will be found; and that from time to time SMENA VEKH fables on the great usefulness of the October Revolution from the viewpoint of the destruction of the old coats of arms of the nobility, the feudal stables and tsarist medieval customs but also from the viewpoint of the well being and future victory of the NEP, will burst into flames. We perfectly know that such doubts did exist, that they still exist here and there and that, in all likelihood, they will continue to exist for a while.

That is why Lenin once again raised the basic question "of our revolution," of its nature and its overall assessment.

Comrade Lenin raised the basic question: it is claimed that in our country there were no sufficient objective economic and cultural prerequisites for a conversion to socialism. All right. But this in itself does not solve the problem. What is it that the pedantic Kautskians fail to understand? They fail to understand the basic fact that if from the viewpoint of universal history a proletarian revolution must be made in developed countries, countries with an exceptionally developed economic base, fully "adequate" for a transition to socialism (although no one is able to say on what level of development does such adequacy begin), there could be special exceptions determined by a peculiar domestic and foreign situation.

This peculiarity of the situation precisely existed in our country, for in our country the revolution was linked, to begin with, to a world war; second, with the start of a huge revolutionary ferment spreading among hundreds of millions of oriental peoples and, third, a particularly favorable combination of class forces within the country, a combination which Marx considered, as early as the 1850s, the most advantageous, namely: the combination of a peasant war with a proletarian revolution. It is precisely these circumstances, this totally peculiar and original situation that laid the foundation for the entire development of our revolution. It made possible an original concept according to which we initially assume the "worker-peasant power" and after that must "on the basis of the worker-peasant power and the Soviet system, catch up with the other nations." Vladimir Ilich needed such exceptionally daring concepts also in order to link us with the future. If in our country a socialist revolution is largely based on this special combination of class forces which Marx himself considered, it is a "combination of proletarian revolution and a peasant war" (i.e., the alliance between the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class (on 16 April 1856 Marx wrote to Engels the following: "the entire development in Germany will depend on the possibility of supporting the proletarian revolution with some kind of second edition of the Peasant War. At that point things will go perfectly." K. Marx and F. Engels, *Soch.* vol 29, p 37)) should be extended and preserved at all cost; for if we lose this particularly favorable combination of class forces, the entire foundation for the development of the socialist revolution in our country will collapse.

Once again, assessing "our revolution" as a socialist and rebuffing the most basic arguments of people who flirt with a return to "healthy capitalism" and bourgeois restoration, and having characterized "our revolution" in all of its aspects, with extraordinary concern Lenin formulates the most general question on the nature of the development of "our revolution" and, consequently, on the fundamentals, the direction of our tactics. Lenin predicted the danger that people hiding behind revolutionary phraseology would be unable to understand the entire tremendous, decisive, essential change which is taking place in the entire development of society after the proletariat has come to power.

II. The General Trend of Our Development and the General Political Concept

Hence, once again, we have the inordinately daring, vivid, clear and unusually energetic formulation of this question, provided by Vladimir Ilich in his outstanding article "On the Cooperative."

In that article, Comrade Lenin writes:

"...We are forced to acknowledge the radical change of our entire viewpoint concerning socialism" (p 376).

When and where has this idea been formulated so sharply elsewhere? I claim that in all of his works, this idea was formulated most clearly and with the entire harshness and passion of political energy, precisely in the article "On the Cooperative."

"...We are forced to acknowledge the radical change in our entire viewpoint on socialism," Comrade Lenin writes.

"The nature of this radical change is that previously we put and had to put the center of gravity on the political struggle, on the revolution, on the seizure of power, etc. Today the center of gravity shifts to peaceful organizational "cultural" work. I am prepared to say that to us the center of gravity would have shifted to culture, had there been no international relations and the obligation to struggle for our position on an international scale. But setting this aside and limiting ourselves to internal economic relations, today in our country the center of gravity indeed has shifted to cultural work" (ibid.).

This is not to say in the least that at this point Lenin rejects the class struggle, for "peaceful organizational" and "cultural" work is also a separate form of the class struggle. It means that the proletariat is leading the entire working people, that it is responsible for the development of the entire society as a whole, that it becomes the great collective organizer of the entire "national economy," that the development is not following the line of widening the gap between the main classes (the working class and the peasantry), that it is not in the least a matter of marching toward a "third revolution," and so on.

Naturally, the real course of life, in accordance with the Mephistophelian statement that "theory, my friend, is gray but the tree of life is forever green," is actually more complex: objective conditions may turn out to be more complex and our tactics may prove to be not entirely ideal. Therefore there can really be periods of aggravation of the class struggle and of its forms related to the regrouping of social classes. We are currently experiencing one such period of aggravation of the class struggle, in which we cannot say that our work is "reduced" to "culture." Naturally, it would be absolutely wrong to ignore the special features of each individual stage in our struggle. Nonetheless, the main stipulations expressed by Comrade Lenin on the nature of our development remain profoundly accurate. This must be the theoretical foundation in defining our practical high road.

III. The International Situation and Its Assessment

In his political will Lenin does not limit himself in the least to general problems: he proceeds from the general to the specific, to the increasingly concrete fact and, with a masterly hand, paints increasingly lively and bright colors, formulating increasingly sensitive problems. Vladimir Ilich was an international revolutionary, a first rate Marxist theoretician and, as is self-evident, he

realized that the greatest difficulties and the most treacherous dangers and threats are related to our international situation. We sometimes forget what Vladimir Ilich wrote in his political will concerning our international situation. Yet, he has provided us an analysis which, with few exceptions, has been confirmed by the entire subsequent course of global developments. On one item life has made the biggest correction, an item which I place first. Comrade Lenin depicted the international situation as follows: 1. A division among imperialist countries in Western Europe: Germany is at the bottom, Germany is being pecked by the victorious countries and is not allowed to rise. This item has been largely "eliminated:" as we know, Germany has risen under the vivifying American shower of gold, although it is facing tremendous difficulties. 2. On the other hand, as Lenin analyzed the situation, the winners, i.e., France, England, the United States and Japan which, on the basis of their victories, could strengthen their power and could grant concessions to the working class which "nonetheless" worsen the revolutionary movement in those countries and create a certain semblance of "social peace" (p 402). This formulation is accurate and correct and properly cautious. 3. Meanwhile, a revolutionary movement is ripening in the eastern countries (India, China, etc.) and the majority of mankind is becoming involved in the revolutionary whirlpool. 4. External conflicts are ripening between, as Vladimir Ilich writes, "the prosperous imperialist countries in the West and the prosperous imperialist countries in the East..." (p 403). 5. Contradictions and conflicts are maturing between counterrevolutionary imperialists and the national-revolutionary movement in the East, the material forces of which remain small. 6. A conflict is ripening between imperialism and the land of the soviets.

At the time when Vladimir Ilich wrote this we did not concern ourselves with the stabilization of capitalism for the features of such stabilization were absent. Essentially, however, Vladimir Ilich provided the essential features of such an analysis which we were able to make with tremendous difficulty only in the course of many years which followed. Vladimir Ilich had absolutely no fear of being suspected of opportunism or any such similar mortal sin and wrote that the victorious imperialist countries will "prosper;" on the other hand, he also noted the contradictions created by capitalist stabilization. It is particularly interesting to note that Vladimir Ilich linked the next revolutionary explosion directly to a future war.

As to the big popular movements, he looked for them above all in the East. It was there that he saw a revolutionary situation and the possibility of direct revolutionary explosions among the big popular masses. Has history not fully justified this forecast?

IV. Foundation of Our Strategy and Tactics From the Viewpoint of the International Situation

In the light of this analysis of the international situation, Vladimir Ilich also defined the foundations of our strategy and tactics.

Comrade Lenin considered our international situation above all from the viewpoint of the threat of war. He unquestionably considered this as basic.

Actually, how did he pose this question? How did he formulated it?

"What type of tactics are indicated by this situation in terms of our country?"

"Can we avoid a future clash with these imperialist countries?" (p 403).

What kind of tactics must we follow in order "to prevent the Western European counterrevolutionary countries from crushing us?" (p 404).

Anyone familiar with the accuracy with which Vladimir Ilich expressed himself, anyone who knows how wise Vladimir Ilich was in using "big" words and anyone who remembers that when it is a question of his political will cannot fail to read in such formulations of the matter a most profound concern (the concern of a profound philosopher and wise strategist) for the fate of the entire building of socialism and of the entire revolution. Lenin was by no means a thoughtless "flag waver." He took seriously into consideration the great power of the enemy. He also openly mentioned our weaknesses. He called upon the masses to surmount them. Above all, he pointed out the low productivity of the people's labor. He noted that the imperialists had been unable to destroy the Soviet state but had been able to ruin it, to hinder its development, to obstruct this development or, in other words, that they had been able to solve their problem half-way ("the half-way solution of the problem").

We must admit that although we have taken a major leap forward in economic and cultural development we nonetheless continue to live in an atmosphere of semiblockade. As to the "low productivity of the people's labor," although here as well we have taken a very big leap forward, compared with Western Europe and America we still remain at an exceptionally low, semibarbaric level of development.

But how did Vladimir Ilich himself answer the questions he raised? He answered them with exceptional caution. He said that the solution of the general question of the outcome of the gigantic struggle depends "on many circumstances" which cannot be anticipated. In the final account, however, our victory is based on the gigantic power of the masses. The bulk of mankind (USSR, India, China, etc.) will decide the outcome of the struggle. However, this outcome presumes the need for a specific tactic.

Therefore: "What is the tactic prescribed by this state of affairs concerning our country? Obviously, it is the following: we must show the greatest possible caution in

order to preserve our worker power and to maintain under its authority and its leadership our small and smallest peasantry" (p 403).

Therefore, when Lenin raised the question of what is the main internal guarantee in the struggle against an imperialist attack, what is the main tactical rule which must be observed in order for the revolution to win in the struggle against the counterrevolutionary Western governments, he answered: greatest possible caution in political areas related to the attitude of worker power toward the peasantry. Elsewhere in that same article he provided a clear, precise and extremely concise formulations, the brevity of which makes them all the more expressive:

"We must follow such a tactic or adopt for the sake of our salvation the following policy:

"We must try to build a state in which workers would maintain their control of the peasants, earn the trust of the peasantry and, with the greatest possible economy, would eliminate from their social relations any traces whatsoever of any kind of excesses.

"We must reduce our state apparatus to a level of maximal economy" (pp 404-405).

At first glance this may seem insufficient for "our salvation" should we be attacked by the Western European capitalist countries. Subsequently, however, Comrade Lenin develops in all areas such seemingly "poor" directives, stringing the richest possible chain of increasingly specific instructions, in the course of which one link clings to another, leading to the growth of the entire complex and live practice of revolutionary struggle and building. The thought which Lenin emphasized so powerfully, dropping it like a heavy clump, may appear scant: leadership of the peasantry, "greatest possible caution," trusting the peasantry, and reducing the apparatus to a minimum. This may appear excessively little and excessively simple.

Simplicity, however, comes in two varieties: there is the type of "simplicity" which is "worse than thievery," and brilliant simplicity, the type of simplicity which is the product of the most profound penetration into the subject and a most profound familiarity with the subject. In the field of art Leo Tolstoy displayed such brilliant simplicity. In the area of politics, such brilliant simplicity was found in Vladimir Ilich.

What follows from what I have already said is that Vladimir Ilich considered a military clash inevitable, sooner or later, and claimed that our revolution could come out of it victorious only when the peasants would trust the workers' power. According to Lenin's will, this is a decisive prerequisite without which the entire revolution cannot exist. In turn, this presumes the greatest possible economy of economic management. Why? At this point, Comrade Lenin brings to light the entire inner

wealth of these slogans: the meaning of the "greatest possible economy" turns out to be much more profound than may have appeared at first.

V. Foundations of Economic Policy

In his well-known article "Better Less But Better," Lenin develops his plan in two directions related to the directive on the alliance between workers and peasants and the directive concerning the economy. It is a plan for industrialization and for cooperativization of the population. Having stated that we must preserve the confidence of the peasants and eliminate anything unnecessary in our social relations, reduce the state apparatus to a minimum and gradually develop accumulations, Comrade Lenin asks: "Will that, however, not be the kingdom of peasant limitations?" (p 405).

Vladimir Ilich knew our people well. He knew perfectly that this kind of attack would be mounted, accusing him of preaching a "kingdom of peasant limitations," that he talks too much about the peasantry, etc. In answer to all this, Vladimir Ilich says:

"No. If we let the working class preserve its management of the peasantry, we shall have the possibility, by achieving the greatest possible economic thrift in our state, attain a situation in which even the smallest saving will be used to promote our large-scale machine industry, develop electrification, extract peat for the generating of power, build Volkhovstroy, etc.

"Our hope relies on this, and on this only" (ibid.).

In that case we shall withstand for sure "not on the level of a petty- peasant country... but on the level of a large-scale machine industry advancing steadily" (pp 405-406).

Where is the "crux of the matter" here? Where do we find the particularly deep political thought? Where is here that special feature which separates Lenin's concept from any other? First, the fact that the entire plan is based on the alliance between workers and peasants and on the "greatest possible caution" in this matter, a caution which so sharply separates Lenin's earth from Trotsky's "skies;" second, that here we find an entirely clear answer to the question of the foundations on which we must build the country's industrialization, and the location of the sources of the additional funds which we must increasingly spend in the industrialization of the country. Such sources may vary. They may consist of spending reserves which we had (a growing negative balance); they could consist of issuing paper money thus risking inflation and commodity hunger; they could come from a surtax on the peasantry. None of these, however, are a healthy foundation for industrialization. None of this is firm and solid; all of this could threaten a break with the peasantry. Comrade Lenin points at other sources. They are found, above all, in the maximal reduction of all nonproductive expenditures, which in

our country are truly huge, and upgrading quality indicators, above all increasing people's labor productivity. It is not the emission of money or using reserves (gold, commodities, foreign exchange) or the surtaxing of the peasantry but the qualitative increase in the productivity of the labor of the whole nation and a decisive struggle against unproductive expenditures that are the main sources of accumulation. This is a specific directive, a specific political line the wisdom of which is that it is the only line in which economic building, socialist accumulations, etc., will have both an economic and socioclass really strong and healthy base. The course of industrialization, the answer to the question of the sources of accumulation, the directive that the policy of industrialization not only does not indicate a break with the peasantry but, conversely, strengthen the alliance with the peasantry and the overall assessment of the problem of industrialization as the decisive problem ("this, and this only is our hope," Lenin wrote on the subject of large-scale machine industry) are the directives which are based in Lenin on the entire socioeconomic circumstance and the analysis of the international situation.

In specifically defining the question of the type of organizational base a coupling should occur between growing industry and the small and very small peasant farms, Lenin develops his "cooperative plan," the plan of coupling them through "cooperative trade" (p 371). Why should such coupling occur through the cooperative? Why is the cooperative suggested as the decisive method? Because it is a transition, as Vladimir Ilich very cautiously replies, to a "new order, via the simplest possible, easiest and most accessible way to the peasant" (p 370), in which the population would advance toward socialism through the cooperative, guided by its own advantages.

Naturally, the question of the coupling of the working class with the peasantry could be formulated differently (from the economic and the socioclass viewpoints). It could be formulated in the sense that the working class will build socialism while the peasantry will not build any socialism whatsoever, like the petit bourgeoisie (the owners) which under any kind of circumstances would be unable to do anything in this respect. This is not the way that Vladimir Ilich posed the question. Pointing out that the cooperative simplest and easiest way of involving the peasantry, he goes on to say:

"Once again, this is the main thing. It is one thing to fantasize about all sorts of worker associations in building socialism and something else to learn how to build this socialism so that any small peasant can participate in this building. This is the stage we have now reached. Unquestionably, having reached it, we are nonetheless using it extremely little" (pp 370-371).

The latter is relevant to this day.

Everyone knows the way Comrade Lenin generally assessed the cooperative; he said that under our conditions the comprehensive cooperativization of the population means socialism and that that is "all" that we need.

Today we need no other wisdoms in order to convert to socialism. However, in order to achieve this "only," we need an entire upturn, an entire period of cultural development of the entire popular mass. For that reason our rule should be the following: as little philosophizing and eccentricities as possible. In this respect, the NEP means progress, for it is adapted to the level of the most ordinary peasant, demanding of him nothing higher" (p 372).

At present, when we are experiencing a number of new difficulties involving the peasantry, it would not harm us to recall this very simple yet very wise rule. We must couple the peasant with his interests. Without philosophizing and without intricacies we must seek the simplest possible approaches to him. In order to implement the cooperative plan we need a cultural revolution, for comprehensive cooperativization requires, above all, for the members of the cooperative to trade in a civilized fashion. Our member of a cooperative, Comrade Lenin wrote literally "...today trades like an Asiatic. In order to know how to be a trader, one must trade like a European" (p 373).

Therefore, the basic concept is that we must proceed from simple methods accessible to the peasant: link "our cause" to the private interests of the peasant. Elsewhere in that same article, Vladimir Ilich asks the same question in an exceptionally sharp manner: the NEP, he writes, is a "extent of combining the private interests, the private commercial interests and its investigation and control by the state, extent of subordinating it to the common interests which had previously been the stumbling stone of many socialists" (p 370). Lenin taught that we must link the peasant to his own benefits and, on this basis, through cooperative trade, through the cooperative, lead him to socialism. In order for the cooperative to lead to socialism, we need civilized cooperatives, for which reason we must trade not like Asiatics but like Europeans.

VI. Problems of Basic Class Relations

Vladimir Ilich approached all economic problems not from the viewpoint of some non-class economics: he linked any major problem on the one hand with the international situation and, on the other, with the class struggle in our country. Economics, in his view, develops along with constant shifts and ties in the area of class structure of our society. The main guarantee for socialist building in our country is the concern for the most favorable combination of class forces which would ensure us the possibility of building socialism further..., concern for combining a "proletarian revolution" with a "peasant war" in a new form, this time in the form of

"building." This is the **main thing**. Marx pointed out that despite Lassallian traditions and Kautskians, Mensheviks, and others, this is the extension of Marxist views. The need for the strongest possible alliance between workers and peasants is particularly emphasized by the hard and difficult international situation. In connection with this main Leninist concept we find this remarkable passage which every one of us must not forget even for a minute. It is known to all but I deem it my duty to recall it here once again:

"Naturally, in our Soviet republic the socialist system is based on the cooperation between two classes: workers and peasants, toward which now, under certain circumstances, we had granted access to the 'NEP people,' i.e., to the bourgeoisie. If serious class differences appear between these classes, a division becomes inevitable. However, our social structure does not necessarily have grounds for the inevitability of such a split and the main task of our Central Committee and Central Control Commission, as of our party as a whole, is closely to follow the circumstances which could lead to a split and to prevent them, for in the final account the fate of our republic will depend on whether the peasant masses will follow the working class, retaining their loyal alliance with it, or else will provide the 'NEP men,' i.e., the new bourgeoisie, the possibility of separating them from the workers, of splitting them from the workers. The more clearly we realize this double outcome, the more clearly it is understood by all of our workers and peasants, the greater the chances will exist that we will be able to avoid such a division which would be fatal to the Soviet republic" (pp 387-388).

Let me point out some matters which a Marxist could consider "monstrous." It is common knowledge that the working class is not the same as the peasantry. The peasantry, even if we are referring to the middle peasant and the poor, is the rural petite bourgeoisie (Vladimir Ilich does not even mention the kulaks in these articles). Everyone realizes that if there are two classes there must be class differences between them. Yet Vladimir Ilich provides a formulation in which he says that if serious class differences appear between these classes a split is inevitable and so is therefore the death of the Soviet republic. What is happening here? Has Lenin retreated from Marxism or has Lenin stopped to consider the peasantry as a separate class? This becomes totally confusing if we take the simple, vulgar anti-Leninist viewpoint and if we fail to understand the entire actual dialectics of original "Soviet" development. Now the working class is facing the task of steadily remaking the peasantry, remaking it "in its image and semblance," not separating itself from it but blending with its entire mass, leading it. An entirely different correlation exists between the proletariat and the peasantry in a capitalist society. Our Red Army, the tremendous majority of which consists of peasants, is the greatest cultural machine for remaking the peasant, who comes out of it with a new mentality.

Vladimir Ilich is entirely right: the split between these two classes, i.e., the appearance between them of serious class differences, which would wreck the remaking of one class by another through this mechanism, would mean the death of the Soviet republic. It is entirely understandable, therefore, that Vladimir Ilich considered all of his concepts from the viewpoint of the correlation between the working class and the peasantry. It is precisely from this that stems his general directive: **the main task** of our entire party and all of its organizations is to consider the possible reasons for a split and, noting the threat on time, eliminate it.

VII. Problems of Cultural Construction

Therefore, industrialization plus cooperativization. However, cooperativization presumes a cultural revolution. At this point, in raising the slogan of a cultural revolution, Lenin by no means limits himself to it. Here as well he describes its specific content. He describes what must be done, the things to which the main attention must be focused, the nature of the "link" here. This is the specific topic of his article "Pages From the Diary." Naturally, this question as well Lenin formulates from the viewpoint of the correlation between the working class and the peasantry: "Here the main political problem is the attitude of the town toward the country, which is of decisive significance to our entire revolution" (p 366). The overall concept is clear. We are failing to do "the main thing:" we have not given the people's teacher his proper status. That is a directive. Immediately, Lenin follows it further: looking at the structure of our state budget he says: if you wish to make a cultural revolution, my directive to you is the following: we must restructure our entire budget on the side of primary education. Therefore, Lenin not only proclaimed a slogan of cultural revolution: now he has drawn from this practical instructions, the scope of which is quite broad. No one can say that this can be accomplished immediately and even this year. However, this is a daring, revolutionary and profoundly accurate directive. Look at what this actually means: it means eliminating everything unnecessary from our social relations, all the playthings of the rich, all that is unneeded; it means reworking the state budget to favor primary public education and enhance the status of our people's teacher. Naturally, this is an entire "revolution." Such a revolution can be made but it is opposed by the elements of our habits, way of life, prejudices, bureaucratic routine and aping. Vladimir Ilich did not hesitate to say that "we are doing virtually nothing for the countryside other than our official budget or our official relations" (p 367). It is on the basis of the tasks of the cultural revolution that he raises the idea of mass worker organizations which would go into the countryside and the question of sponsorship societies, and formulates the idea that front-ranking workers should take communism to the countryside. At this point, however, Comrade Lenin explains the content of this concept, knowing the way we like phraseology and loud noise instead of action. He explains his idea as follows:

One cannot "immediately simply take strictly communists ideas to the countryside. As long as our countryside does not have the material foundations for communism, this would be, one could say, harmful. One could say that this would be fatal to communism.

"No. We must begin with establishing contacts between town and country without the preset idea of introducing communism in the countryside. This objective cannot be achieved now. It is untimely. The formulation of such an objective would cause harm instead of good" (ibid.).

This indicates the wisdom of the organizer who is organizing not a cell of young people among Soviet employees but tens or hundreds of millions of people and knows how to approach those tens of millions. In considering the forms of ties between town and country (sponsorship, etc.), he insists: do not do this bureaucratically. And he raises the slogan of setting up all kinds of worker associations, comprehensively avoiding their bureaucratization.

It is thus that Lenin formulates the question of a cultural revolution and, especially, the question of the countryside; we find characteristic the high value that Vladimir Ilich set to such work. In his article "On the Cooperative" he says: We are facing two main tasks: 1. Restructuring the state apparatus; 2. Cultural work for the peasantry (see p 376). Elsewhere he describes this cultural work among the peasantry as a universal-historical cultural task.

You can see, therefore, on what broad plane Vladimir Ilich presents cultural work and how greatly attached he is to his other concepts: the organization of cooperatives, the industrialization of the country, the struggle against international capitalism, and so on.

VIII. Problems of the State Apparatus and State and Party Building

In this case Vladimir Ilich leads to the fact that one of the most important structural aspects of the cultural revolution, one of the greatest instruments for socialist accumulation and for involving the masses in building—and every small peasant must build socialism!—is the condition of the state apparatus and the quality of management.

This question is developed in two articles: "How to Reorganize the Rabkrin" and "Better Less But Better." The approach itself taken by Vladimir Ilich is of interest:

"We must come to our senses without delay. We must become imbued with a salutary mistrust of hasty progress, any kind of boasting, and so on. We must think of checking the forward steps which we proclaim every hour and every minute, after which, every second, prove their weakness and vagueness. Here the worst thing is haste" (p 390).

It is on the basis of this concept, which presumes "solidity," "durability" and "clarity," which are rather simple matters, that Vladimir Ilich approaches the question of our apparatus.

You recall the premises concerning the matter of the apparatus that Vladimir Ilich formulated: we need thrift, for it is only thus that we can develop industrialization. We need simplicity, for it is only thus that we can involve the masses. We must achieve an overall increase in labor productivity. Therefore, the question of the state apparatus, from the viewpoint of involving the masses, thrift and labor productivity, is related to all other problems. All problems, from economic to cultural, come together within that of the state apparatus.

This is understandable. In the final account, the state apparatus is that same instrument and machine through which our party, the victorious leader of the proletariat, is directing its entire policy; in the final account, looking from the viewpoint of the future, our state apparatus is that same organization which subsequently, spreading over millions of people, involving literally all working people, represents a certain stage in the transition to a state-commune from which, unfortunately, we are still quite far removed. And so, comrades, Vladimir Ilich asks: if the question of the state apparatus is such, how to set it up, where to turn, what levers should we pull? The outstanding concept he provides is the following: we must turn to the most profound source of dictatorship: the "frontranking workers."

Therefore, first of all, we must turn to the frontranking workers and, secondly, to the "truly educated elements" in our country. We must see to it that we concentrate within the Rabkrin the best "that exists our socialist system" (p 391), the "human material of a truly modern standard, i.e., as good as the best Western European models" (p 389).

It is from that end that we must begin to cleanse the state apparatus.

The "truly educated" elements must have the following properties: first, they must not take anything on faith; second, they must never say something against their own conscience (a conscience does not disappear, as some people may think, in politics); third, they must not be afraid of acknowledging difficulties; fourth, they must not fear any struggle for the sake of achieving a seriously set objective.

These are the requirements which Vladimir Ilich formulated for such people.

This, however, is insufficient. In order to renovate the state apparatus and begin with the Rabkrin, combined with the Central Control Commission, Comrade Lenin suggested special tests, "examinations" (an examination of the candidate for RKI employment, and an examination of the candidate member for the Central Control

Commission). Such examinations must involve a test of the candidates' knowledge concerning the structure of our state apparatus, and the theory of organization of that sector of the work in which they would like to be employed, and so on.

Having made the RKI a first-rate battery for rationalization energy, we must turn it into a lever which would influence all the other people's commissariats in reorganizing the entire structure of the work and upgrading labor productivity. But why did Vladimir Ilich suggest a merger with the Central Control Commission and how is this connected to the entire plan? This, comrades, becomes quite simple and understandable by engaging in a close study of the entire overall plan submitted by Vladimir Ilich. This plan has two axes: the first is better work, thrift, industrialization, increased labor productivity and improved quality indicators; the second is a proper correlation between the working class and the peasantry and the prevention of any division between these two classes through our party, by a division within our party. Hence merging the RKI with the Central Control Commission and the organization of this dual body which must pursue the two most important tasks and which should consist of the best elements in the country. This organizational project is thus entirely related to all previous ones, starting with international politics. Finally, on the same level the respective requirements concerning the masses are developed. In an exceptionally brief but expressive formula, Vladimir Ilich combines these demands: "The true participation of true masses." For it is possible to rally a handful of people but that will not be a true mass; one could rally them as though they are "participating" without their actual participation. Hence the formula "true participation of true masses."

Therefore, if we now combine the entire plan we can see that in addition to an overall assessment of our revolution there is an assessment of the international situation and on the basis of this international situation the problem of the consolidation of power and its strengthening are derived and so does the main directive of the working class, which is to retain its power over the small and smallest peasantry. Hence, in turn, a course of the country's industrialization is developed on the basis of savings, improving the quality of the work in the cooperativization of the peasantry, i.e., the easiest, simplest and totally free way of involving the peasantry in the building of socialism. Hence, once again, the slogans of cultural revolution, restructuring the apparatus so that it may be efficient, properly working and involving the masses; concern for the proper correlation among classes leads to concern for the party line and for the unity of our party; hence the plan for a dual authority (Rabkrin plus Central Control Commission) which, on the one hand, supervises the quality of the work and combines within itself control, practical work and scientific and theoretical work in the area of labor organization and, on the other, watches over party unity and, through it, over the joint implementation of a worker-peasant alliance.

This entire tremendous plan is formulated for many years into the future. The entire plan is based on the broadest possible prospects. The entire plan stands on the firm foundation of the basic Leninist concepts. At the same time, this entire plan has been concretized, i.e., it provides a number of instructions with truly practical features.

Comrades, I have tried here not to omit a single one of Lenin's important thoughts and have added absolutely nothing of my own other than a few comments which are based on Vladimir Ilich's respective articles. I have tried to present them as an entity, as Vladimir Ilich's political will. It is self-evident that this major historical period we have lived through since his death has introduced significant changes in the objective conditions of development: in international class correlations, in relations between imperialist countries and the Soviet Union, in our economic construction, in correlations between classes (which includes the increased activeness of the kulaks), in the regrouping within our party, and so on, and so forth. One would not err by saying that hardly anyone among us expected that we would be able to set an entire series of major record-setting figures in, shall we say, industrial construction. Yet we have indeed set a number of records. We have scored a great deal of achievements in the rationalization of our industry, in the scientific fructifying of the economy, in direct technical reorganization, in increasing output, and so on. Economically, we have taken a tremendous step forward.

To a certain extent we have also strengthened our position in the international arena, although it is in this area that development contradictions are manifested most acutely. Our growth, however, was quite uneven, which triggered a number of difficulties about which we are talking so extensively these days. In recent times our party has faced a number of new problems which have not been described in Vladimir Ilich's will.

We have formulated the question of kolkhoz building (related to the cooperative, which we are now emphasizing), the question of building sovkhozes and the tasks of technical reconstruction, problems and tasks which Vladimir Ilich formulated in their general outlines only. Many of the problems in our country have developed somewhat differently. The main outline of our policy, our strategy and tactics were brilliantly anticipated and predetermined by Vladimir Ilich. The difficulties which are now being experienced by our country and party force us, again and again, to turn to one of the inexhaustible sources of political wisdom, to Vladimir Ilich's will, and again and again to consider most closely the main question: the attitude of the working class toward the peasantry. For problems of industrialization, grain, commodity hunger and defense are the same old problems of the worker and the peasant. It is no accident that at its next conference our party will put this problem on the agenda.

Comrades, 5 years ago, the genius of the proletarian revolution left us on one quiet winter day. Many of us had the luck to work with this man, this iron "Old Man," as we called him, the leader, the revolutionary, the scientist.

Five years after his death, after testing his legacy through the harsh experience of life, more than ever before, with greater pain and greater persistence and with greater knowledge of reality, we shall raise our red flags as we march forward and onward! (Prolonged applause. The orchestra plays the Internationale).

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Economics, Politics, Thinking

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[Article by Valeria Benke, editor in chief of TARSADALMI SCEMLE, political and theoretical organ of the MSZMP]

[Text] The renovation of the means and methods of building socialism in Hungary, as in the other socialist countries, requires a more profound theoretical and ideological interpretation of the state of affairs in society than has been provided so far. Today we have put on our agenda the formulation of comprehensive reforms in various areas of life. Their implementation presumes the collective effort and creative thinking of all social groups. The solution of many broad problems and the acceleration of socioeconomic development are possible only in the type of intellectual atmosphere which does not limit debates and helps suitably to counter unsubstantiated opinions and to resolve conceptual contradictions.

This article deals with problems of collective enterprise based on public ownership, the compatibility of contemporary commodity production with the values of socialism, related problems of elaboration of a socialist social policy and the search for new social approaches, particularly in the field of economics. In a difficult economic situation it is important to establish definite and clear positions in the ideological area. They help to shape a social policy which guarantees the implementation of the principles of socialism.

Economic Difficulties and Reform

The Hungarian economy was unable promptly and decisively to react to adverse changes in foreign economic factors. One of the main reasons for this was the interruption of the reform at the start of the 1970s. Efforts to avoid conflicts and stressed situations were, unquestionably, an error, for today we are forced to make those same changes but this time under less advantageous

conditions. We must also bear in mind that in a country with an economic structure unsuitable from the viewpoint of new global trends, limited material resources and, furthermore, subject to the influence of discrimination, a structural reorganization inevitably entails at its beginning a number of negative consequences to the well-being of the working people. That was the reason for which we, the political leadership, tried to avoid such consequences for a long period of time.

The recent decisions made by the leading party authorities emphasized that the error was not the 1968 reform but its slow and inconsistent practical implementation. The following could be considered as the most grave contradiction of the new economic mechanism, which was introduced in Hungary in 1968, and which remained unresolved for a long time: With an overall orientation toward cost accounting principles, self-financing and labor incentive based on end results, an administrative equalization of enterprise income was retained through state budget subsidies given to unprofitable economic organizations. As K. Gros, chairman of the Council of Ministers, emphasized at a session of the Hungarian State Assembly (September 1987), an unacceptable situation has developed: 58 percent of profits engaged in material production came from state subsidies. In other words, in practical terms cost accounting remained quite limited and could not actively force the enterprises to reach high production results.

Furthermore, the management system, oriented toward economic standards, included a significant number of benefits and exceptions, which placed economic organizations in an uneven position and, at the same time, retained their direct dependence on central departments in management decision making.

Added to these and many other internal contradictions within the economic mechanism were delays in making a number of important administrative decisions. Thus, the organizational structure of management remained unchanged for 12 years starting with the application of the new system; the price-setting mechanism was unrelated to the main trends of price dynamics on the world market, etc.

Such a worsening economic situation cannot be changed through radical intervention or drastic change. However, we are persistently seeking a solution and trying to advance, albeit by taking small steps.

The July 1987 MSZMP Central Committee Plenum adopted a political decision on basic trends aimed at improving economic life and restructuring economic management. In their essential features they are consistent with the target stipulations set at the 13th MSZMP Congress, which lead toward a comprehensive intensification of the economy, radical updating of the production structure, upgrading its efficiency, giving priority to the development of highly profitable enterprises and enhancing the human factor.

The resolutions of the plenum were concretized in a work program adopted by the Hungarian government after a very intensive debate at the autumn session of the State Assembly. The Hungarian government is comprehensively pursuing an active policy of selective development and modernization of production, drastic reduction in subsidies to unprofitable enterprises and closing down or restructuring those which operate at a loss. In structural policy priority will be assigned to encouraging competitive and highly efficient export industries, which is the principal means of reducing the country's foreign debt. The governmental program calls for the continuation of the economic reform and for freeing administrative mechanisms from bureaucratic and departmental distortions and upgrading the efficiency of economic centralization, while truly expanding enterprise autonomy. Reforms are planned in the areas of taxes and prices, and in changing mechanisms for wage control and pensions. Legal documents are being drafted which will stimulate the creation of new forms of economic centralization "from below," such as contractual associations, shareholding enterprises, etc. Attention will remain focused on broadening democracy in the economic area.

The main purpose of the stabilization program is the creation of sources, of laying foundations for subsequent accelerated development. This is necessary if we are to come out of the existing economic "snare" of scarcity of means for the technical and structural updating and the retention of obsolete production facilities. We are trying to enhance the role of economic instruments and levers of structural policy in defining the type of production areas or enterprises which should be closed down. In Hungary, for a long time the objective assessment of efficiency and profitability of a given production facility was hindered, for the picture was distorted by unrealistic prices and numerous benefits and subsidies. At the present time, with the help of prices, credits, taxes and a systematically controlled market we plan to increase the objective nature of profit as the main yardstick of end economic management results. The reform in the banking system and the restructuring of the taxation mechanism significantly narrow the possibilities of administrative redistribution of income among enterprises and will contribute to the identification of weak and economically unpromising production facilities. This will help the central management authorities to pursue a selective structural policy. All of this will strengthen the economic motivation of enterprise activities and the real power of economic pressure and will help to intensify the production process and the efficient utilization of all resources. For the time being, however, we are forced to retain unprofitable production facilities either in order to support exports and repay foreign loans or to ensure the uninterrupted supply of goods for the domestic market. This largely explains the subsidizing of enterprises with unprofitable or inefficient production (in the first half of 1987 Hungary had 212 unprofitable industrial enterprises and cooperatives, or 10 percent of the overall

number of industrial economic organizations). Most such enterprises by no means satisfy the demand for quality, which leads to additional economic losses.

Changing this situation is very difficult. We need a transitional period in the area of commodity supply, employment and exports, related to the process of closing down unprofitable activities. Without this, considering our limited import opportunities, we must be careful to avoid major economic contradictions and breakdowns which may obstruct the reform and strengthen dogmatic antireform forces.

Twenty years of practical experience in the Hungarian reform has shown that the overall concept and understanding of individual steps within it are still not a sufficient prerequisite for final success. Such success includes important preliminary assessments of the means needed to implement planned changes, possible indirect consequences, and control over the coordination of the individual elements within the concept. Finally, we must always bear in mind that after the elaboration of a general model we must thoroughly plan all steps and develop the necessary ways and means which will ensure its practical implementation. Unless this takes place no real opportunity will exist for implementing the principles of the reform and even the most persistent aspiration to new developments will be suppressed by the reproduction of already extant economic management and control conditions.

A profound study and accurate assessment of acquired experience are needed precisely in order to ensure the efficient restructuring of economic development. It is particularly important to study a number of relations linking the development of the Hungarian economy with social policy and ideology.

At this point let me emphasize the tremendous significance to Hungary of the social and economic changes which are taking place in the Soviet Union. Our party, economic specialists and entire society are following with great hope and fraternal sympathy the changes taking place in the Soviet Union. Now, when the CPSU has formulated and adopted a broad renovation program and when the USSR and the other socialist countries are carrying out their own reforms, favorable international circumstances appear for the implementation of our own economic program as well.

Socialist Answer to Changing Conditions

Today the political leadership and public opinion in Hungary are concentrating above all on assessing the condition of the economy and the prospects of its development, and the possibilities of regaining the positive trends of economic growth and surmounting the consequences of economic stagnation. Naturally, the slowed down development of the economy and the decline in the living standard of a significant percentage of the population have intensified the concerns and

doubts of the people. They are reacting ever more sensitively to actual or imaginary and occasionally exaggerated changes in social differentiation, if the latter is aggravated by a dissatisfaction with their situation which, in our country, is increasing rather than diminishing. The growth rates of the national income slowed down in the 1980s: between 1981 and 1985 they increased by an average of 1.5 percent annually; in 1986 the national income increased by no more than 0.9 percent. This also affected the people's living standard. Although real per capita income continued to grow (by 10.6 percent between 1981 and 1986), real wages declined (in 1986, they were 97.9 percent of the 1980 level); the real worth of most pensions dropped (within that period 1 out of 3 pensions lost between 10 and 20 percent of its purchasing power).

Today we can clearly see in practical terms as well that steps in economic reconstruction, such as closing down unprofitable enterprises, reducing subsidies and restoring domestic and foreign balances are inevitably related to negative consequences in terms of real wages, the solution of the housing problem, social security, and so on, which aggravates the existing tension. Such a pressure can be withstood only by a society which is well aware of the inevitability of the negative consequences of the steps which are being taken and is confident that it is precisely by surmounting them that the standard of economic management can be raised and, within the foreseeable future, results justifying current difficulties can be achieved.

The party, the public organizations and the mass information media play a great role in ensuring the readiness of the society to accept the growing difficulties. Scientists and ideologues assume particular responsibility for the formulation of a clear and full image of social contradictions, the real reasons of difficulties and the possible ways of surmounting them, for in our situation a necessary prerequisite for social unity is a more profound knowledge of the socioeconomic components of the structural reorganization and the identification of the socialist scale of values within which and for the sake of which this restructuring is taking place.

For the time being, the mass awareness of the people lacks necessary clarity concerning such problems. This lowers our readiness for reform. Naturally, socially significant facts of material reality have a decisive impact on public opinion. However, preserving, not to mention intensifying, the existing ideological and theoretical lack of knowledge, reflected in the mass consciousness, weakens the process of urgent changes.

Another factor which worsens and complicates it is the fact that a discussion concerning socialism is gradually creating the feeling that everything done so far has been wrong. Increasingly, instead of socialist criticism of our shortcomings, we come across bourgeois criticism of the appearance and establishment of socialism. We also come across dogmatic views according to which any

violation of previously accepted methods is considered as an abandonment of the socialist nature of the society. Added to the noted polarization of ideological views, a certain "type" of scientific research has also appeared, in which the superficial criticism of socialism is combined with an idealized picture of capitalist society.

The erosion within public opinion of the line separating contradictions, objectively created by living conditions, and the stress which has developed as a result of our errors, does not contribute in the least to the shaping of a realistic and critical assessment of socialist relations.

Practical experience indicates that as we raise the standard of organization of the society, human relations become increasingly indirect and that fast technical development undermines many collective forms and the increased complexity of the functioning of the society enhances bureaucracy. This situation must be taken into consideration. We must make a clear theoretical as well as practical distinction between the reasons for our shortcomings, which vary in terms of significance: the consequences of the international division of labor and trade (including in the area of information) and our own errors. Only then would we be able properly to realize the type of problems that exist and the solutions which could and should be sought.

Changes in the correlation of forces throughout the world play a particular role among the factors which determine our awareness, thinking and scale of values. Currently this is developing under the direct influence of the process of renovation and reform in social practices and way of thinking, which is taking place in a number of socialist countries (for nearly 3 years in the Soviet Union). Its influence on Hungary is having a growing positive nature. However, the block of other factors—new shifts in the global economy and a radical turn toward neoconservatism in the ideological area, compared with the 1970s, should not be ignored. We must take into consideration that to this day the capitalist world is implementing principles and requirements which radically conflict with traditional values of socialism, such as social guarantees, social cohesion, linking income to labor outlays, etc.

In formulating our strategy we cannot eliminate this influence. As we pointed out, the Hungarian economy was slow in reacting to the new trends in the capitalist economy, something which entailed a number of adverse consequences. We need a competitive production system, which is a prerequisite for the dynamic nature of the socialist economy. However, we cannot adopt (for ideological if for no other reasons) ways of improving the production process used by the most developed capitalist countries. For example, they redistribute the burden of technical progress and the implementation of market principles among many other countries. In our case, considering our limited resources, this is impossible. It is also impossible for the fact that we are a socialist society.

Despite adverse external circumstances and aggressive ideological pressure—or perhaps precisely because of them—we must immediately and energetically undertake to solve problems of social and economic organization. External obstacles cannot be a justification for our inconsistency and slowness in domestic affairs. The instruments and methods used so far were not sufficiently efficient due to errors or the difficulty of the problems and they will not lead us to success as rapidly as we would like.

Social Values and a Market Economy

Like most socialist countries, Hungary is seeking ways of coordinating the social values of socialism with contemporary market production. We saw and still see as the key direction that of economic reform, the purpose of which is to ensure planning under market conditions.

The actual embodiment and practical confirmation of the accuracy of the concept of the economic reform is found in our agriculture which, starting with 1957, has been developing systematically and rapidly without any centrally promulgated directives but through economic controls. Whereas in the first half of the 1950s Hungarian agriculture was in a virtual state of stagnation (the average annual growth rates of output did not exceed 0.1 percent in 1951-1955), changes in the means of management and approaches to collectivization had a beneficial influence on the development of the sector. Between 1956 and 1960 increases in agricultural production averaged 4.1 percent. In the mid-1980s Hungary emerged in one of the leading positions in the world and assumed a leading position in CEMA in per capita production of agricultural commodities. The new features and practical examples which developed in the work of cooperatives (autonomy, increased initiative, internal democracy, new type of collectivism, readiness to cooperate, etc.), helped to shape a system of social requirements and to depict the consequences of the implementation of the adopted concept of the reform.

Under the influence of the reform positive changes have already taken place in other economic areas. Even a partial improvement in industrial production brought about a substantial increase in the availability of commodities. Organizational forms became more varied and variety expanded. The service area was broadened and became multisectorial. In this area the number of small artisans offering services in their free time (free from work at their main jobs) increased substantially. The individual (and private) sector accounts for more than 55 percent of the entire volume of available services (in services to the population its share is even higher: 61.3 percent). The overall number of small craftsmen in the Hungarian national economy doubled compared with 1970, reaching 150,600 people by 1986. The number of people engaged in moonlighting in this sector exceeds 54,000. A new form appeared—leasing small trade and public catering enterprises, owned by the state or the cooperatives (11.9 percent of all stores and 41.3 percent

of public catering institutions). Practical experience confirms that the use of such methods is both necessary and useful to consumers and to industry.

The economic and social consequences of private and collective enterprise are complex both as a whole and for the individual strata. Supplies have improved, although they remain unsatisfactory. Furthermore, profiting from existing shortages, some enterprising people or groups earn disproportionately high incomes, which triggers the population's discontent. Naturally, "entrepreneurial" abuses must be stopped. An active struggle is being waged against them in accordance with the laws, regardless of whether they have been manifested in the state, cooperative or private sector. We must take into consideration, however, that an efficient struggle can be waged against excessive enrichment based on scarcity only by developing production or services and ensuring the fastest increase in supply.

We have learned instructive lessons from the application of erroneous methods in the struggle against such shortcomings. At the beginning of the 1970s, reacting to the moods of individual social groups, and referring to the interests of the working class, we wrongly decided to restrict the fast growth of the peasants' income. Radical increases in taxes on private plot production and restricting the possibilities of agricultural cooperatives to engage in auxiliary industrial and service activities led to a scarcity of foodstuffs, spare parts and complementing items; problems of employment in the cooperatives appeared. It became clear that such steps were undermining the interests of the working class as well and erroneous decisions had to be corrected urgently.

In considering the problems and tasks of the conversion to intensive economic management, we necessarily come across the basic problem: is a combination of contemporary market production with the social values of socialism possible? In other words, is intensive economic management, a purposeful broadening of the realm of commodity-monetary relations and the market compatible with collective management, distribution based on labor and socialist principles of humaneness and democracy?

The Hungarian Marxists answer this question with a firm "yes." If the expansion of commodity-monetary relations promotes public, economic and social balancing to a certain extent, it is precisely to that same extent that we must achieve the integration of socialist values with a socialist market economy.

The essential possibility of cooperation among different social groups and strata, based on collectivism, leads to the creation of public property. Years of building socialism have proved that on this basis as well collectivistic relations are shaped not automatically but through various intermediary factors.

One of them is collective interest in labor results. This is the foundation on which autonomy, initiative and the habit to work, with full responsibility toward society, take shape. These characteristic features of working people and collectives already exist in our society. For the time being, however, they are not ubiquitous.

The enhanced autonomy and responsibility of labor collectives in decision making already now allows us to eliminate a number of stressful features related to the division of labor. Excessive centralization and the anonymity which is created, the erosion of responsibility and lack of individual interest were not only hindrances to the growth of labor productivity but also obstacles along the way to perfecting social relations. Their elimination will require new forms of enterprise.

Starting with the 1980s, more than ten organizational forms of economic activities were introduced in Hungary commonly described as "new forms of enterprise." They include small enterprises and cooperatives, branch enterprises, specialized cooperative groups in industry and services, contractual (or leasing) forms in trade and public catering and economic labor associations at enterprises and establishments, working on a contractual basis during their leisure time at the place of their regular jobs. They have appeared mainly in the state and cooperative economic sectors.

The progressive role of independent small labor collectives at large enterprises, in terms of the organization of labor and a more accurate determination of end results, and formulating strict labor requirements and cooperation standards is noteworthy. Let us particularly note that economic labor associations and smaller forms of enterprise are a practical example of social selection based on the labor contribution criterion (an association will not accept a bad worker). This is important in the light of the fact that one of our most pressing problems—cadre selection—should be solved in precisely this manner.

The process of joint labor could also lead to lesser subjectivism in the selection of managers and exclude the hiring of unsuitable people. The experience of enterprise councils indicated that, in itself, the electiveness of managers is not of uniform positive importance. Unprincipled use of personal and collective ties and concealed differences make abuse of the democratic mechanism possible. The interest and social activeness of every individual would reduce such abuse to a minimum. Such activeness is steadily increasing at enterprises, thanks to the expansion of democratic management principles (enterprise councils in the majority of labor collectives, electiveness of managers and granting important management functions to the assemblies of working people or their representatives).

As the "new forms" have indicated, the members of individual collectives and groups should not wait for internal changes made without their own decisive participation. However, the desire to act appears only if

collectives are granted adequate autonomy. Otherwise we cannot rely on a feeling of responsibility on the part of the working people.

The combination of collectivism with commodity production is a rather contradictory process. It is raising and will continue to raise a number of questions, the answers to which are by no means simple. Particularly essential among them is that of the ways and means of distribution and integration of labor within and among economic units.

In small economic subdivisions the real possibility exists for all participants in the production process to be familiar with each significant aspect of their activities. Consequently, they can have a direct impact on the course of the production process, on the share of individual consumption and production accumulation. Such subdivisions, however, lack the necessary resources successfully to offer their products on the market. That is why we must steadily study any ways and means of practically combining the advantages of small enterprises with the extensive resources of large economic organizations.

Our experience indicates that such integration can be accomplished not through organizational mergers but through financial cooperation and combination of funds (including the issuing of enterprise shares) and other forms of cooperation. The specific results achieved in this case—above all in agriculture and trade—are better in comparison to organizational integration which, most frequently, is of a formal nature.

Dilemmas and Principles of Social Policy

One of the "hard nuts to crack" in the reform is solving the problem of unity of efficient centralized management, capable of formulating objectives on the basis of the consideration of social interests and ensure the greater economic autonomy of collectives. What type of mechanism could provide an organic link between economic and social policy on the macro level and autonomous activity on the level of an enterprise, sensitively reacting to market situations?

The necessary binding link between them is social policy which, at the same time, is a major motive force of economic development. Its purpose is comprehensively to encompass, take into consideration and combine within it numerous factors: labor and income distribution, labor income ratios and payments from public consumption funds, opportunities for social mobility, conditions which determine the well being of the family, and the entire area of humanistic services, which includes education, culture and health care. In other words, its realm of influence is significantly broader than that of social policy and is not limited to easing negative social consequences of economic processes.

Since the sum total of social interests is based on production and labor relations, most of the social policy targets are attained through economic policy. However, without a comprehensive approach to the former we cannot develop the latter efficiently. A consideration of the long-term national-state objectives and prerequisites for their implementation is a condition for the formulation of a rational concept of social policy. Short term problems are solved within the framework of social policy.

One of the most important of our aspirations is to maintain full employment. The political significance of this needs no additional comments, for we cannot speak of a society based on labor while, at the same, fail to secure jobs for the people. However, the structural reorganization of production inevitably involves eliminating some jobs. In the present critical situation we must firmly follow the path earmarked as early as 10 years ago in the resolutions of the MSZMP Central Committee Plenum. Changes may painfully affect larger or smaller groups of workers and production managers. We are not threatened by any mass lengthy unemployment as Western propaganda is predicting. However, many people will have to change jobs or enterprises and undergo vocational retraining. The right to work and the basic principle of the management of labor resources (full employment) are interpreted by us not as the right to have a specific job but as a guaranteed possibility to work. This does not exclude temporary and territorially limited employment difficulties (i.e., structural unemployment). No magic means exist in this area. We must undergo the necessary restructuring and try, to the extent to which this is possible, to compensate the people for any material harm this has caused them.

In Hungary, after the law on closing down unprofitable enterprises was passed in 1986, and taking into consideration the intensification of the processes of release and redistribution of manpower among economic organizations, legislation was passed controlling the employment of released workers and guaranteeing the people material compensation for temporary unemployment (the total time allocated for job placement in a new position, for the duration of which a certain compensation is guaranteed, is 15 months).

It may seem paradoxical, but today the problem is essentially not one of scarcity of jobs but of scarcity—real or fictitious—of manpower, greater lack of organization and decline in labor morale. The reason for such shortcomings, alas, rests in our advantages.

Socialism promised and gave the people social guarantees. The elimination of unemployment and ensuring full employment are among the key values of socialist society and one of the greatest accomplishments in the world. I believe that a proper decision was made to protect the working people from serious upheavals caused by the

crisis in the global economy. However, it was an error to guarantee the same type of protection to enterprises, which were frequently excessive.

The protection of all enterprises from possible bankruptcy actually turns into protecting obsolete output, technology and weak management and poor work; in the final account, this draws away resources from enterprises which can develop efficiently. Thus, the social protection of enterprises harms the economic and social development of both the society and the enterprises and clashes with our interests and objectives. We believe that this experience must be the subject of particularly critical attention and be re-evaluated by public opinion.

The second center of stress is that of income distribution. On the one hand, income is being equalized, which has long been one of the reasons for our problems. On the other, we are also concerned by the problem of excessively high income. I believe it simplistic to link equalization of income only to the aspiration toward wage equalization. It would be equally erroneous to explain the existence of high income in terms of essential concessions made to "enterprise." Each of these phenomena has deeper economic foundations.

The decisive reason for equalization is that certain socioeconomic conditions trigger excessive employment and, correspondingly, a scarcity of cadres, which makes enterprises compete for manpower through wages. Due to ceilings in state wage controls, such competition brings about a decline in the quality of labor and a loss of labor morale. Hence the disparity between the growth of wages and labor productivity and increased inflation (between 1981 and 1985 labor productivity in the Hungarian national economy increased by 10 percent; it increased by 19 percent in industry and the average work wage in the socialist economic sector and in industry increased, respectively, by 36.7 and 41.0 percent). Since this situation developed as a result of centralized wage control and a certain behavior on the part of enterprises, it can be changed only through the joint efforts of the state and the enterprises. Adverse trends can be surmounted only within the framework of resource conservation, i.e., through an intensive type of economic management. To accomplish this, we must abandon the practice of conflict-free development in enterprises and in relations among enterprises.

With a lowered living standard and, I believe, as its consequence, income disproportional to the labor contribution and its social usefulness triggers a painful reaction in public opinion. The disapproving reaction of the population is understandable. However, the political leadership must act not only by taking such a reaction but also the real reasons for such phenomena into consideration.

Nonetheless, as a rule the opponents of such income suggest that it be blocked through rigid administrative restrictions. It is quite obvious, however, although not to

everyone, that circumstantially high income could be eliminated only by increasing the availability or competitiveness of supply.

Let us also note that even justifiably high income is having a conflicting influence on the social consciousness. Such income seems attractive if we can convince the individual that it is accessible at his job if suitable labor efforts are invested. However, it has also another effect which is related to the depreciation of the standard acceptable type of life, is consistent with the average level of labor contribution.

However difficult it may be to acknowledge it, the satisfaction of strict labor demands is possible only through conflicts among individuals or collectives. The organizational conditions for the appearance of such conflicts and their resolution are only beginning to be developed in our country. The necessary reforms in the political system must take fully into consideration this problem and requirement.

The desire for tranquillity and "harmony" is so strong in the social institutions that most frequently it opposes substantial changes. The thirst for change triggers its opposite if a change should create, albeit temporarily, inconveniences from the viewpoint of the specific individual or labor collective.

In this connection, we must seriously reassess the question of the implementation of social guarantees which, unquestionably, are socialist values, so that they may not weaken the dynamism of our society.

Social Thinking and Value System

Past experience in building and strengthening socialism is characterized by a certain historical duality. On the one hand, socialism is a labor society, but only in the sense that there is the obligation to work and the existence of full employment. On the other hand, socialism belongs to an age of individual material incentive. Since labor has not become, nor could it as yet, a basic need of life, labor activeness is stimulated, above all but not exclusively through material means. The duality of the transitional society is apparent also in the fact that with the disappearance of class differences, based on traditional forms of private ownership, differences based on the division and different types of labor and way of life remain. Such features are manifested also in the pluralism of social values under socialism.

In the past, the lag in the initial accumulation of capital, paralleled by accelerated industrialization, was manifested in Hungary by a clearly manifested heterogeneous and disparate system of social values. At the initial stage of socialist changes the social awareness and forms of behavior displayed traditional Hungarian values, such as division of labor according to rank and property status. However, this was not paralleled by high labor standards and organizations, as was the case in the developed

capitalist countries. Social qualities, such as cohesion and collectivism, found their legitimate place as well. From the viewpoint of our social relations, they became dominant. At this point, however, they encompass only individual areas of society. In the course of decades of building socialism, major positive changes occurred in strengthening the prestige of labor. That is precisely why today we hear such criticism concerning the enhanced prestige of money to the detriment of labor.

The intensification and the broadening of the realm of socialist market relations and the autonomy of enterprises and their individual subdivisions presume forms of individual and collective behavior distinguished by the desire to cooperate and to engage in efficient and responsible activities, ability to assume initiative and risk, conflict management and achieving harmony and compromise. Such characteristics should have and could have appeared on the basis of a developed capitalist economy. Our historical prerequisites did not favor their appearance. Now, having converted to assessing labor contributions based on end results, they are manifested more rapidly and more completely. However, the introduction of such an assessment of labor and upgrading production standards and organization are still hindered by a number of negative elements in our current institutional system. Excessive centralization, the departmentalized nature of management, economic shortages and the practice of essentially administrative subordination and coordination preserved and strengthened servility, favoritism and other features inherited from the past. The historically developed structures of the nature and way of thinking which are firm features of the national awareness and behavior, are influencing the new relations. They are distorting and restraining their development. They themselves, however, are experiencing an impact both "from below" (production relations) and "from above" through ideology.

Naturally, social, and even more so individual, opinion and awareness are influenced above all by daily events and impressions. However, we must take into consideration and make skillful use of the role of ideology as well. Since social contradictions are manifested in the guise of ideological assessments, ideology does not simply reflect real social processes. It is also an active means of influencing individual and collective behavior. In particular, we cannot even speak of socialist democracy without a corresponding preparedness to accept it. Categories, such as socialist self-government, social interest, responsibility and cohesion in the behavior of collectives will remain nothing but words unless the ideologues try to "build in" in the mass awareness such concepts which orient and support the socialist trend in the development of society.

Present reality is crowded with difficult problems. The content of the system of values is changing and their lack of definition is worsening. Therefore, from the viewpoint of the normal functioning of social awareness and scientific knowledge, it is vitally important for the study

of a given problem and the discussion of arguable matters to ensure the application of different approaches. We must create favorable conditions by offering alternative suggestions which would be most beneficial to society. Means of ensuring glasnost and the information media play a leading role in this respect.

Political practice needs an accurate forecasting concept of socialism. It cannot be structured on idealized social utopias or idealized capitalist forms. We shall follow the spirit of the ideas of Marx and Lenin by adopting the rule of proceeding on the basis of the realities of socialism and, in the development of society and solving its contradictions, combining socioeconomic cooperation, based on public ownership and the principles of collectivism, with the practically justified ways and means of utilization of commodity-monetary relations and economic competitiveness.

The basic stipulations expressed in this article are related to the new stage in the reform in Hungary. The work program of the Council of Ministers, which was discussed at the beginning of this article, extended through 1990, takes into consideration the great difficulties of this period. It appeals for readiness to sacrifice, increased labor efforts, principle-mindedness, flexibility, maximal discipline and greater individual and collective responsibility, the use of the advantages of socialism and of new ways and means of economic management and the organization of contemporary social life. We do not consider that this program provides an answer to most of the topical problems in the areas of economics, social policy, ideology and social consciousness. Nonetheless, we are convinced that solving the problems of this difficult period, as depicted in this document, will provide our society with opportunities for comprehensive progress.

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Against the Monopoly on Truth

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[Article by Viktor Afanasyevich Yaroshenko, KOMMUNIST special correspondent]

[Text] In issue No 9 for 1987 KOMMUNIST carried a letter by the collective of the Gidroproyekt imeni S.Ya. Zhuk All-Union Order of Lenin Design-Prospecting and Scientific Research Institute, and an editorial comment on the letter.

This publication generated a great deal of mail to the editors, indicating how differently society understands the task of developing glasnost and democracy. Some authors criticized the Gidroproyekt position; others disagreed with the editorial comments which, in their view,

were tendentious and prejudiced; others again disagreed with both the editors and the institute, formulating problems broader than those discussed in the publication. For that reason the editors of KOMMUNIST deemed it expedient to raise that question once again.

The letter of the 909 members of Gidroproyekt was deemed worthy of support although somewhat corrected by their colleagues and like-minded supporters in a number of cities (V.M. Adamov, E.I. Makhniboroda, P.P. Brenchuk and V.S. Serkov, and a collective letter by the construction workers at the Boguchanskaya GES, which contained some objections to the theme of the makers of the documentary motion picture *The Dam*).

Thus, Alma-Ata Engineer V.M. Adamov, a member of the Gidroproyekt system since 1962, writes: "I agree that in principle generators of power other than hydroelectric power stations could be used. At the present time such could include only thermoelectric and nuclear power plants. Other sources are either expensive or are at the stage of theoretical development.

By exclusively developing thermoelectric power... mankind would exhaust the fuel which took billions of years to accumulate in the ground and would drastically increase the content of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere. Nuclear electric power plants could satisfy the hunger for energy. However, despite all possible assurances regarding the safe use of the atom for peaceful purposes catastrophes similar to that of Chernobyl will recur." Hence the author concludes that we must drastically increase the share of hydroelectric power plants and not allow any interruption in their construction.

A not entirely correct but quite widespread method in arguing is the following: to argue not against a real but a fictitious opponent. Such is the case here as well. Neither our commentary nor the Gidroproyekt workers, who felt insulted by publications in other journals and newspapers, mentioned in their letters, formulated the question in terms of banning the development of hydraulic power. It was a question of the openness of the decision-making procedure, which affects the interests of the people and democratization, for society wants and has the right to know where and to what purpose and effect it is investing its efforts and funds.

Gidroproyekt mildly criticized its colleagues in Soyuzvodproyekt and Soyuzgiprovodkhov, together with which and for nearly 20 years it had been formulating plans for the transfer of the waters of northern rivers (Gidroproyekt was the general planner for this project). This has not been generally forgotten. To this day land reclamation workers consider power workers their allies.

"The editorial postface to the letter of the Gidroproyekt associates," writes L.V. Moroz (Kiev), "saddened me by its clearly manifested aspiration to pursue the prejudiced

campaign waged by writers and journalists against reclamation workers, hydraulic engineers and water management specialists.... The tone of the postface and, above all, its incompetent nature, will not help a right cause.... Demagogy can be defeated only by disseminating knowledge and reliable information on the actual state of affairs."

It would be difficult to disagree with these words. The trouble is that not everyone is prepared to acknowledge as reliable someone else's knowledge and information.

"Being profoundly concerned with the well-being of present and future generations," he goes on to say, "we must as of now solve, on a scientific and economical basis, problems of water resources (protecting Leningrad from flooding, damming the Dnepr-Bug estuary, building a Danube-Dnepr canal, and so on). Tomorrow this may prove to be too late. Our children will not forgive the present generation, the scientists in particular, if we leave them not only a wasted nature but also a lack of water. The campaign against water resource managers will blow away while the problem of improving water supplies will remain. It will have to be solved not by journalists but by those same personnel of Hidroproyekt or their colleagues." However, the opponents of such projects have not only expressed concern on the subject of the negative consequences of their implementation but have also suggested alternative solutions, which would enable us to achieve the same objectives with fewer outlays and without causing irreparable damage to nature. Clearly, L.V. Moroz classifies such suggestions in the category of inaccurate information, believing that hydroengineers alone are the holders of scientific truth. Nonetheless, many readers do not look at said problems purely as a matter of water resources but as a comprehensive and tangled knot of social, ecological and economic problems. It would be hardly accurate if after all such debates problems of this kind must once again be solved exclusively by hydroengineers. They may be skilled people but, like all others, their competence has its limits. Technocratic trends may gain the upper hand if a departmental approach is adopted.

"The general indicator of capital investment efficiency," writes V.S. Serkov from Moscow, "is that of reduced outlays, which takes into consideration the regulatory period of recovery of capital investments and fewer outlays. The average sectorial reduced (annual) outlays per kilowatt of installed power are 100 rubles for a nuclear power plant, 95 rubles for a thermoelectric power plant and 54 rubles for a hydraulic power plant.... If we abandon hydraulic power construction the appropriated funds would nonetheless be spent but the results of such outlays would be lower by 75 percent. This is the nature of the important and advantageous structural role of hydraulic power."

The same problem is raised by Candidate of Technical Sciences A.P. Generalov: "Seeing the huge areas of flooded fertile land, one unwittingly thinks of their

value.... Could Hidroproyekt name any other country in the world where such a disrespectful attitude toward the land exists? The Rybinsk water reservoir covers 4,500 square kilometers (6 percent of the combined area of all Soviet water reservoirs!). No justification or explanation exists for the exaggerated size of the Rybinsk water reservoir. Nor could it be explained by the interests of ship navigation or the regulating role played by the other stations along the system. Alternative solutions could have prevented such a merciless flooding of the Mologa."

Professor S.Ya. Sergin (Moscow Oblast) reminds us that the area flooded by water reservoirs (including river beds) in our country, according to data of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Water Resources, has already reached 7.5 million hectares, including 3 million hectares of farmland. Tens of thousands of hectares of land are being lost because of the continuing correction of river banks. Flooding, caused by the raised level of ground waters, covers a significant area (according to some computations, as much as 15 percent of the area of the flooded territories).

The author further writes that although the hydraulic power workers claim that the effect of controlling the river flow in agriculture as a rule exceeds the harm caused by the flooding of farmland, he has not seen a single persuasive computation to back this claim.

"The entire matter," A.P. Generalov notes, "is that no one has compared the cost of the water with the real cost of the flooded land. Land in our country is free. No accurate computations whatsoever can be made due to lack of data on the cash assessment of the value of the land and the water. The resulting illusion of the free nature of the land and the water provided a powerful incentive for the formulation of plans based on flooding and expropriation of land for various projects. In order to correct the situation we must develop effective land and water registration, which will enable us to assess resources not only in terms of points but also in terms of direct value."

This reader raises not a new but a very relevant problem for our science of economics. Theoretical developments have still not reached the level of practical use in economics and have not been reflected in the laws and methodical instructions by which planning workers are guided.

For the time being, proof is based on concepts of departmental efficiency and the principles of the old outlay economy, ignoring the principles of the radical economic reform in the course of which amortization rates, recovery time and the entire price system, including the cost of fuel and energy, will be reviewed and payments for natural resources, such as land and water, charged. Will the hydraulic power industry find itself in

such an advantageous situation under the new circumstances? All of this must be discussed, recomputed and tested from the viewpoint of end national economic results.

The letters of some specialists show concern for the outcome of their favorite project. "The current attacks on Gidroproyekt and on water resources in the country are quite similar to what took place with the routing of genetics. It may turn out that once again honest people will be punished," V.M. Adamov writes, "while those who led the country into the abyss of repressive measures and economic disorder will sleep the sleep of the just. Under such pressure, misinterpreted glasnost may stun any scientific or production sector (other than the press!). Who will be next? Will it be timber workers, miners or the weather service?"

It may be wrong to ignore such fears expressed by the readers. On the other hand, however, could this be a case of backlash?

During the time of "Lysenkovism" thousands of biologists lost their jobs. Research in a number of directions was halted, the training of cadres for genetics was abolished and the continuity of scientific traditions in biology interrupted. Let us not even mention the more dramatic violations of the laws.

It is hardly possible to consider the restoration of historical truth or, in general, bringing order in our common home, the same as the defamation of hydroengineers, loggers or meteorologists although, in all likelihood, diplomatically speaking, all of us have "substantial reserves" in this connection. Naturally, this is not an appeal for "good manners" to the detriment of principledness or an aspiration for the truth. We know that V.I. Lenin was a fierce polemicist whenever the interest of the cause demanded it but never for the sake of soothing his own pride.

Democracy does not mean irresponsibility and impunity. Conversely, it implies greater responsibility and self-discipline.

There has been a powerful desire in the country to live differently than in the past, to live in accordance with the principles of legality, justice, glasnost and truth. To this day it is frequently difficult to come across an honest and active person. To this day occasional attempts may be made to check, take in hand and even jail or ruin particularly people who are not only opposed to the bosses but are not in step with the "united" collective. Most of the authors of letters to KOMMUNIST state their opposition to the onward march of departmental legions, believing that such corporate behavior is not to the advantage of our common cause.

Power Engineer **E.I. Makhniboroda** (Alma-Ata) explains the entire discussion on the country's water problems with the statement that "someone must let off steam and

teach a lesson in talkativeness to the broad population masses in our country." He writes that "it is not Gidroproyekt that must interpret and explain the procedure for developing and coordinating projects but the various agencies (the Gosplan and others) that must set up the type of procedure for designing, building and operating projects in accordance with social and other aspects, such as to prevent undesirable ecological consequences.... Not Gidroproyekt but those agencies had and have the right, given to them by the Soviet people, to decide...whether we would be sitting on the graves of our fathers or on the banks of the brimming Balkhash, with an empty stomach and in a cold hut. One must not ascribe to Gidroproyekt omnipotence in resolving such problems and blame it for one's own faults." He also writes that "let the Gosplan, the Gosstroy formulate regulations for a review of any project suspected of causing ecological or social 'pollution.' It is time to turn from words to actions."

We can see behind the obvious one-sidedness of the views held by this author a necessary human quality: involvement. He has tackled the most important aspect of the matter, which is currently discussed by many specialists: the lack of a developed legal and organizational procedure in our country for the enactment of major projects. A number of countries have laws requiring mandatory ecological impact studies applicable to a project of some significance. Someone may object that this is also the case in our country. However, it is precisely the pressing problems of expert evaluation that are discussed in the letters which follow.

Doctor of Technical Sciences **A.S. Nekrasov** (Moscow), a person of great experience in expert evaluations, writes that based on the example of the conclusions of an expert assessment of the technical and economic substantiation (TEO) of transferring to the Volga some water from the northern rivers, approved by the State Expert Commission of the RSFSR Gosplan, it may appear that the TEO did not formulate the objectives of the suggested measures; there was no link between the plan and the most important intersectorial and regional programs for the development of the country's production forces. The quality of the documentation on the transfer was essentially unsatisfactory. Gross errors in computations and tendentious distortions of initial data were brought to light; the overall cost of the first part of the transfer was reduced by one-half and the number of workers by a factor of 3-4. The size of anticipated agricultural output was exaggerated 100 percent.

The results of this expert evaluation prove that the participation in it of specialists in a great variety of areas meets the mandatory requirements of the comprehensive solution of problems related to the implementation of major national economic projects.... It is precisely this that apparently the Gidroproyekt personnel are unwilling to understand, in the belief that hydroengineers alone can solve all problems of the national economy. Agreeing with them is S.Ya. Sergin: "Today the ecological and

economic parts of technical and economic substantiations of major projects are being designed so simplistically that they do not allow us to understand the nature of such problems."

V.M. Adamov, whom we already quoted, acknowledges that "the hydraulic project engineers as well make errors but such errors are of a primarily technical nature. Major errors can be made also in making new, unaccustomed decisions." Basically, in his view, such errors can be reduced (!) to the adoption of not necessarily the most successful design of equipment or site.

Many examples of such occasionally quite impressive errors are described in the readers' mail. Some authors, however, although agreeing that responsibility for a technical solution must be assumed, naturally, by designers and builders, stipulate that it is not they who set the assignment. It is not they who determine when to build and where, and it is not they who appropriate resources.

According to the readers some responsibility should be assumed by the personnel of the central economic authorities. Such personnel frequently include people who have brought from the sectors they come from departmental views, ideas and prejudices. The readers deem necessary the elimination of such subjectivism.

In an effort to understand the existing situation and the reasons for the established departmental monopoly, many readers refer to the examples of the 1920s and 1930s.

Standing out among the letters is that by **B.S. Uspenskiy**, a power engineer with 60 years of experience, who worked for many years at *Gidroproyekt*, *Gidroenergo-proyekt*, and "Energosetproyekt." He writes: "I have participated in expert evaluations since 1938. I have handled virtually all major hydroelectric power plants in the Soviet Union. The letter sent by the *Gidroproyekt* workers is nothing but nostalgia for lost hydraulic hegemony. Such hegemony began to develop at the end of building the Moscow Canal, where S.Ya. Zhuk after whom this institute is now named, was chief engineer. To Stalin hydraulic power construction was, if one may say so, a personal passion. S.Ya. Zhuk became his advisor on hydraulic power construction problems. He had been recommended to Stalin by the then head of the NKVD. In 1936 the NKVD 'captured' from the People's Commissariat for Electric Power Plants the construction of the GES in the upper reaches of the Volga (Uglich and Rybinsk); in 1937 it took over the Kuybyshev hydraulic power junction, replacing Professor A.V. Chaplygin as its designer. The designing of the project was taken over by the NKVD. The results of the planning of each of these GES were reported to Stalin personally, an honor which was not granted for any other thermoelectric power plant. Stalin issued his own instructions and even approved individual technical parameters (such as the turbines of the Kuybyshev power plant, the general trend

to be followed in designing the Volga-Don navigation canal, or the allocation of power from the Kuybyshev GES, imposing a ban on transmitting it east of Kuybyshev)."

"At that time," B.S. Uspenskiy writes, "there was as yet no monopoly in designing hydraulic power systems, since starting with the 1960s the prestigious and highly professional *Gidroenergo-proyekt* Institute was functioning (absorbed at the beginning of the 1960s by *Gidro-proyekt*).

"In Stalin's time, in order to build the Volga-Don canal and shorten construction time to a maximum, *Gidroproyekt* rejected efficient systems for connecting the Volga with the Don. A rather distorted and stupid plan had to be adopted, involving building the support hydraulic junction at the Tsimlyanskiy Gate, which required the flooding of a huge fertile area along the Don, including its famous vineyards. This could have been prevented by building a retaining wall at Kalach, as all previous projects had stipulated.

"It was only in an atmosphere filled with fear and threats that such an abnormal situation became possible, in which it was not A.V. Vinter, B.Ye. Vedencyev, G.O. Graftio or P.P. Laupman but S.Ya. Zhuk who became the main authority in hydraulic power construction and that a single scientific school was allowed.

"A kind of 'theory' of massive hydroengineering construction took shape within *Gidroproyekt*. The faulty practice of overfulfilling plans by lowering their quality began with the digging of the Moscow-Volga Canal; this was concealed behind ostentatious record-setting reports on the daily pouring of concrete. All of this led to the senseless waste of resources. The role of the specific indicators of material outlays was drastically reduced and priority was given to overall physical volumes of the work—millions cubic meters of concrete, hundreds of millions of cubic meters of dirt, dozens of thousands of tons of metal, hundreds of square kilometers of water reservoir and tens of thousands of people resettled. Meanwhile our press was enthralled by these figures...."

The readers point out that the documents drafted by the ministries are oriented toward maximally securing the interests of their own department. Doctor of Technical Sciences A.S. Nekrasov writes that the true monopolists are precisely the ministries and departments, whereas institutes, such as *Gidroproyekt* and others, are their working organs which formulate and implement departmental interests, which involve obtaining the maximally highest possible share of the national income.

Here is what Moscow State University Professor **O.K. Leontyev**, honored RSFSR worker in the sciences, wrote: "The projects for the Daugavpils and Katunskaya GES, the Volga-Chogray Canal and some other give the impression of having been far-fetched, the purpose of which was to give the departments something to do. Yet

there are vital problems which these three huge organizations—Gidroyekt, Soyuzgiprovodkhoz, and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Water Resources must solve. Professor Leontyev names among the, above all, the problem of rescuing the Aral Sea. "Its current condition is an indictment, it is a shame for the specialists in water problems." The reason for the catastrophic drop in the level of the Aral Sea, in his view, lies above all in the barbaric and predatory attitude toward the use of the waters of the Syrdarya and Amudarya.

The study of the letters we have received indicates that the readers are not against the specialists—hydraulic power workers and land reclamation workers—but against their assuming the right to have a final say in solving problems in which it is precisely they that are not specialists. The authors do not object to the power industry and its development but oppose the diktat of certain approaches and trends and the imposition of priorities. Nor do they oppose electric power plants. They favor an optimal structure of the country's power generating system. They are not against "invading nature" but against unmotivated harm to the environment, with its irreversible consequences.

The Gidroyekt personnel and their supporters are convinced that it is not specialists but essentially writers and journalists who criticize their activities. Thus, Engineer A.P. Kim from Tashkent writes: "I believe that it would be better to prohibit people, even noted personalities, to come out in the press and on radio and television on the subject of major problems affecting the destinies of millions of people, with reports containing unchecked information." Here we have once again the old refrain of "forbid to speak out" or "order the prevention of errors".... But how can we establish the truth? The question of the responsibility of a writer for what he writes is justified, and the more freedom there is the greater becomes the responsibility. There is a direct connection between the two.

However, we also have received other types of letters and we see that their authors have already prepared reasons for blocking the wide stream of glasnost and democratization with a high and safe "dam" with spillways which would operate within a strictly formulated and rigidly sanctioned system. Such views are criticized by another and most numerous group of writers.

For example, A.S. Nekrasov writes that "the Gidroyekt authors believe that of late a number of articles on problems of building hydraulic power plants have appeared, 'typified by their low technical and scientific standard but high emotional level.' The only truth in this statement is that articles criticizing the building of GES have begun to appear 'of late.' However, the authors of the letters published in the journal do not mention that for many years there was a rigid censorship imposed on the publication of articles and books criticizing the policies of the USSR Minvodkhoz and USSR Mine-nergo. This scandalous silencing of science in terms of

the areas of development of water resources and reclamation could not suit any better the interests of the water resource policy pursued by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Water Resources, Gidroyekt and Soyuzgiprovodkhoz, which cost the state billions of rubles of unjustified expenditures and hundreds of millions of rubles wasted in drafting unsuitable projects...."

Hydraulic engineers are criticized for this not only by outsiders but also by power industry scientists. Following is the view of a person who could be hardly accused of incompetence: V.A. Venikov, professor, doctor of technical sciences, winner of the Lenin and State Prizes and the Prize imeni Yablochkov of the USSR Academy of Sciences, honored RSFSR worker in science and technology, head of the department of electric power industry systems, Moscow Power Industry Institute: "The situation prevailing in our country concerning the planning of most important projects, not only GES but even the Unified Power System of the Country, is such that the designers operate in a state of absolute complacency, as the journal's editors have properly pointed out.

"This is caused by the lack of a full critical analysis of projects which, essentially, are being drawn up in a single variant. Since the organizations engaged in designing the largest projects (Gidroyekt, Energoproekt and others), are monopoly organizations which submit their one and only project, there are no competing projects. The experts cannot draft such projects alone. As a rule, designs are based on departmental positions, without a systemic approach. Yet it is only with a systemic approach, which would take all factors into consideration that the GES would become more efficient and there would be less flooding.... Our hydraulic power plants are advertised as 'the most powerful in the world,' although some of them do not work at full capacity even for 1 hour. Naturally, there could not even be a question of underutilization of hydraulic power resources. However, such utilization must take into consideration the entire system of the national economy and ecological restrictions, which the monopoly organizations do not include in their projects. No extensive discussions are being held even among specialists. Not only 'artists and writers,' but also specialists, if they are 'outsiders,' are ignored. In the majority of cases projects are unnecessarily classified simply for the sake of blocking access to them to uncontrollable outsiders."

Professor Venikov sees the solution to this situation in the adoption of a system of competitive designing (as is sometimes done in the case of monuments and architecture). Within the Minenergo system, he points out, some 20 design and scientific research institutes and tens of thousands of specialists and, in the Minvuz, some 70 departments in different VUZs are working on power industry problems. Many of them could be fully capable of participating in such competitions. This may increase the cost of designing but would be redeemed a hundred-fold by improvements in quality.

The editorial comments to the *Gidroproyekt* letter listed several projects which have lately triggered a wave of criticism: the Katun and Daugavpilses and the Rzhev Hydroengineering Complex. The writers also mention the Danube-Dnepr and Volga-Chogray canals and many other projects. Such letters are written both by outsiders as well as opponents of building such systems.

KOMMUNIST does not have the possibility to discuss specific projects. We believe that this will be done in the respective press organs. Our purpose is to draw attention to the political aspect of the problem: individuals who deny to society and the people the right to have and to express their opinion on the subject of vitally important problems and of ways of solving them, who usurp from them the right to sovereignty, the right to determine how, when and in what way they can handle the results of their work and resources, the masters of which they are. We should not forget that hydroengineers and land reclamation workers formulate and implement their own proposals using not their own but people's funds, for which reason they must account for their use. Projects worth more than 400 million rubles had to be scratched in the area of land reclamation between 1981 and 1986 alone as a result of major shortcomings in designing, planning and construction (this figure exceeds the amount of aid received in 1 year by all single mothers and mothers of large families in Russia).

We are looking at the 19 August 1987 issue of *GIDRO-TEKHNİK*, the home publication of *Gidroproyekt*. It carries information on an open party meeting held by the institute on radically restructuring economic management in this organization in the light of the resolutions of the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The presentation by V.D. Novozhenin, the institute's chief engineer, published in that newspaper, indicates that the problem of upgrading the quality of cost estimate documentations—the basis of the institute's output—remains relevant. Of late 52 projects have been reviewed. Nonetheless, the report notes that the share of projects which were sent back for further work increased. The cost of construction continues to rise. At the present time experts of the USSR Minenergo are reviewing refined projects for the Cheboksary GES and the Zagorsk GAES, the increased construction cost of each one of which amounts to several hundred million rubles (let us remember that the Cheboksary Power Plant has been under construction since 1969). The speaker acknowledged that it is only isolated projects that are completed without cost overruns and that "because of our own not always complete and finished work and insufficient attention or, more accurately, **total inattention** (editorial emphasis) installations such as water reservoirs have been built and, sometimes, the urge to undertake exceptionally major construction projects and a liking for purely economic analysis factors have led to entirely justified criticism of our work because of numerous omissions. We ourselves have done nothing and have not insisted on solving the difficult problem of clearing water

reservoir areas from timber and processing the timber; we are unfamiliar with the actual harm caused to the national economy as a result of correcting river banks, the flooding of areas and changes in climatic conditions. The lack of such data has prevented us from checking and refining the methods for assessing such phenomena in the course of designing, which has led to the repetition of errors.... Now all of this must be radically changed."

Starting with 1989 the institute must convert to self-financing and self-support. On the eve of this reform its structure is being reorganized and cost accounting collectives are being set up on the basis of the brigade contracting system. As of now the conditions governing the life and activities of the institute and the well-being of its collective will depend on the economic results of the work, quality and organized efforts of all of its subdivisions. As was said at the meeting, in order to create optimal working conditions for the collective (i.e., the necessary amount of profit with an achieved level of profitability) the institute must increase its volume of work by approximately 50 percent. Is this not the true reason for the collective letter sent by the *Gidroproyekt* personnel to KOMMUNIST? Is this not the reason for the lengthy struggle being waged on the subject of each, even obviously inept and unpromising projects? This dangerous trend of inflating the volume of work for the sake of ensuring one's own well-being was not unanimously supported by the institute's party members. Noteworthy is the address published in *GIDROTEKHNIK* by economist Ya.L. Gritsevskiy, who proved that profit and economic well-being can be achieved not only thus but also by improving the quality of design. For example, merely by implementing the state assignment on reducing the cost of estimated projects by 5.2 percent during the 12th 5-year period, the institute could earn additionally some 6 million rubles in profit, which would allow it to increase both profits and cost accounting funds.

We can only agree with the idea that restructuring the economic mechanism will require securing the interests not only of enterprises, institutes and departments but also of the entire national economy.

Our discussion is not concluded. It is probably not of the type which could. The fact that discussions must always be converted into specific actions, and the sooner the better, is a different matter.

The readers name new topics which need the attention of the public and comprehensive discussion. They involve the safety and wastelessness of technology, the ecological condition of the country's water reservoirs and entire areas, the state of affairs in some sectors and the quality of food and durable goods.

The majority of the readers considered the letter sent by the *Gidroproyekt* personnel an effort to put departmental and special problems outside the range of glasnost and disagree with this view.

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05003

Pedagogy of Cooperation: Results and Prospects
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[Review by A. Orlov, candidate of psychological sciences, of the book *Pedagogicheskiy Poisk* [Pedagogical Search]. Compiled by I.N. Bazhenova. Pedagogika, Moscow, 1987, 544 pp]

[Text] The publication by Izdatelstvo Pedagogika of the collection *Pedagogicheskiy Poisk* is a particularly noteworthy event in the area of the psychological-pedagogical sciences. This collection, which includes works by noted innovative educators, sums up in a way the publication of the series "Pedagogical Search: Experiences, Problems and Discoveries" which, starting with 1981, has included the publication of 27 books and pamphlets totaling almost two million copies. It is largely thanks precisely to such publications that the readers have been informed of the experience of masters in educational work on a first-hand basis. Despite the great variety of pedagogical experience, the books included in the series (experience of republics, oblasts, cities, separate schools, SPTU, children's homes UPK, Pioneer camps and units, children's theaters and health establishments, and finally, the experience of teachers, principals and educators), are all related to the idea of the search for new, nonstandard and more efficient ways and means of training and education. Another common feature of the books within this series is that they do not include any far-fetched "theoretical substantiations," "methodological foundations," "gnosiological premises," "concepts," "systems," "structures" and "factors," which are mandatory accessories of "adequate"—quasi-scientific—language in our academic pedagogy which, unfortunately, is still largely scholastic and remote from life. The books by practical educators reflect real, live, and therefore, convincing fragments of the experience of teachers and students, school principals and parents, administrators and economic managers. They have been written in a clear and understandable literary Russian language, accessible to the mass leadership.

This is the first time that the innovative and progressive pedagogical experience in the work of those authors, whose efforts, despite the opposition of pedagogical bureaucrats led to the development of a special trend, described as the pedagogy of cooperation, have been assembled in an anthology. The materials of the most popular books by 10 supporters of this trend—Sh.A. Amonashvili, S.N. Lysenkova, I.P. Volkov, V.F. Shatalov, Ye.N. Ilin, T.I. Goncharova, A.B. Reznik, I.P. Ivanov, Ye. Yu. Sazonov and A.A. Dubrovskiy—provide the readers with comprehensive current information on the main ideas, and ways and means used in the pedagogy of cooperation.

The book reflects the richest possible practical experience of innovative teachers who have dedicated decades of intensive creative efforts to school work and to the upbringing and education of the children. Throughout this entire time school teachers in Moscow, Tbilisi, Leningrad, Donetsk and other cities tirelessly worked alone, defending under circumstances of most difficult conflicts with traditional pedagogical science and practice, the ideas and principles of the pedagogy of cooperation. It is as though every single one of them drilled his own tunnel in the seam of authoritarian pedagogy. Only recently has it become known that these people were not lone individuals, that they expressed the thoughts, feelings and moods of a significant portion of Soviet teachers sincerely interested in surmounting phenomena of stagnation in our schools. All of these teachers are representatives of the type of education which is inseparably related to the main directions of our social life—**democratization and the humanizing of society**—the enhancement of human initiative and creativity and the fuller identification of the potential of the individuality of every Soviet person. In the preface to the collection, M.N. Skatkin, member of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, notes the following: "The time of the pedagogy of innovation has come" (p 8; herein and subsequently the quotes are from the book under review). However much we would like to agree with this opinion, let us be frank: Although the overall sociopolitical background today unquestionable favors the activities of innovative teachers themselves, an acknowledgment of their work and the extensive popularization of their experience, academic pedagogical science and mass pedagogical practice remain extremely distant from the basic ideas of the pedagogy of cooperation. That is why it would be more accurate to say that **the time has come to wage an open struggle for the pedagogy of innovation**, for the mass adoption by teachers of its ideas, principles, ways and means.

What must be done to accelerate the process of restructuring of pedagogical thinking and practice? What, in this connection, should be taken from the experience of innovative teachers? We shall try to find in this collection answers to such topical problems.

With each new generation society increases the volume of scientific knowledge. On a parallel basis the demands of society concerning youth training and the knowledge, skill and habits which must be mastered by the new generations become greater. This is necessary in order not to slow down the pace of social progress and to preserve the continuity of social experience and human culture as a whole. In other words, the development of society constantly complicates the task of teachers and educators and thus aggravates the **contradiction** between the needs of society ("must") and the needs of the child ("want") or, as the great Soviet psychologist D.N. Uznadze described it in his time, this is the inevitable and basic tragedy of education. "Education and upbringing, the pedagogical process as a whole," writes Sh.A.

Amonashvili, "have always carried within them by virtue of their social purpose, an element of coercion. This is due to the fact that the enhancement and development of the inner forces and capabilities of the child are not the result of subjects freely chosen by the child but the nature of the education and upbringing process predetermined by the requirements of society, the level of its cultural and economic development and its ideals. The methods and ways of training and upbringing themselves also proceed, above all, from educational objectives and tasks and not from the nature of the actual needs of children" (p 33). Furthermore, the school teacher frequently finds himself in an objectively conflicting situation, in a position between the requirements of society "as represented by directives, instructions and recommendations" and the motivations of the child. This contradiction has become exceptionally aggravated in our schools in recent years, with their typical dominance of the administrative-command style of management of the training and education process.

On the one hand, the majority of school teachers are becoming increasingly involved in "trench warfare" against the students. Acting exclusively on the basis of the logic of "social requirements" issued from above, according to the logic of "must," they thoughtlessly use the tried arsenal of means of imperative and authoritarian education, firmly convinced of their good intentions toward the students and their future. Sensing the growing opposition of the students to such ways and means of training and education, such teachers are entirely confident that they are the result of lack of upbringing and the pedagogical neglect of the students or else the consequence of imperfect educational tools. That is why the efforts of these teachers are addressed exclusively at suppressing by all means at their disposal the opposition of the students to pedagogical influence and to see to it that whatever the case the results of the training and education process are attained. In other words, they perceive the basic contradiction in education as the "tragedy" of society which is forced, at each new spiral in its development, to cope (to confront) with the increasing lag of the human material behind its requirements and stipulations. Such ideology and educational practice could be described as **"the pedagogy of confrontation."** On the other hand, a relatively small number of school teachers are successfully solving through their work the "inevitable" contradiction in education. Constantly encountering in their work the contradiction between "must" and "want," and perceiving it as a situation which is dramatic to the child, such teachers develop the idea of helping all students to "learn victoriously," to consider the school not as a painful preparation for life but as a rich and happy life. Deeply humanistic in nature and consistent with the character and objectives of the new society, the idea of helping the child is the foundation of the **pedagogy of cooperation.** In the collection under review the repeated intention is to help 6-year old (Sh.A. Amonashvili), weak students (S.N. Lysenkova), hobby addicts (I.P. Volkov), D-grade students (V.F. Shatalov), students who have mentally "left"

the class (Ye.N. Ilin), students who have become accustomed to spiritual consumerism (T.I. Goncharova and A.B. Reznik), students who feel no pleasure in collective life (I.P. Ivanov, and Ye.Yu. Sazonov) or else students who have lost their good health and faith in themselves (A.A. Dubrovskiy).

The pedagogical search of teachers has always been in the center of attention of researchers in education. To this day many educators are engaged in so called analysis, summations and evaluations of progressive and innovative experience. The main task of such researchers is to single out and describe the basic components which distinguish the experience of innovators from that of traditionally functioning teachers and which could provide prerequisites for the exceptional efficiency of the training and education process, organized "according to Amonashvili," "according to Lysenkova," "according to Shatalov," and so on.

We must say that virtually all efforts at such analyses and summations proceed, overtly or covertly from the idea that the experience of any innovative teacher should be considered a complex unity of something common (which can be shared with other teachers) and something individual (which is inseparably related to the personality of the teacher and is, therefore, essentially not transferable). For that reason, as a rule, researchers try to distance themselves from the personality of the innovative teacher and his contribution to the pedagogical experience they are studying, and to analyze only the objective aspects of this experience—the system of educational ways and means and the content and ways and means of organizing training and education.

Such a **technological approach** to the study of innovative experience is based on what we consider an erroneous confusion between personality and individual aspects in pedagogical experience. In reality, the personality aspect always means unity between what is individual and what is typical. That is why the individuality of the innovative teacher includes, along with acts which are truly unique and strictly individual features, some which are of universal significance. It is precisely such typical personality features that are the nucleus of the pedagogical experience of innovative teachers on which educational technology is shaped, each time consistent with the specific conditions, circumstances and tasks of their professional activities.

Therefore, pedagogical experience cannot be reduced to pedagogical technology (a system of ways, means and methods), for it always presumes the type of technology and a system of values served by said technology and on the basis of which it is established. It is the necessary **unity between technological and value features on which the study of pedagogical experience must be based.**

The collection of works by innovative teachers contributes to shaping a more accurate idea of the structure of pedagogical experience among workers in the pedagogical sciences as well as practical teachers. On the one

hand, it provides a thorough description of the pedagogical technology of innovative teachers and the variety of ways, means and methods of pedagogical influence. Many pages in the collection (such as pp 10, 66, 138, 162, 188, 240, 286, 385, 475 and 520) are saturated with specific advice by the masters. Such advice can be used by virtually all teachers in their lessons. On the other hand, the collection enables us to understand and even to feel the common "personality denominator" shared by all the authors and which is at the base of the pedagogical activities: concern with the life of the **children and their problems and difficulties** their emotions and aspirations addressed to the true (and not fictitious) and real (and not required) "I" of the child. Somewhat conventionally we can single out within this overall value orientation of the humanistic pedagogy of cooperation **three main personality concepts**.

First is the **concept of accepting the student as he is**: "We must be good-hearted people and love the children as they are" (Sh.A. Amonashvili, p 9); "education begins with the strikingly simple and unsophisticated fact of accepting and loving the student as he is" (Ye.N. Ilin, p 263); the educator must perceive and see the child the way the child is "within itself" and the way "the child alone" considers itself to be (Ye.Yu. Sazonov, p 496). Any distortion of this concept under the influence of a variety of imperative duty stereotypes becomes a starting point for the inner nonacceptance, the rejection of the teacher by the student, the depreciation of the student's "I" and, consequently, a source of his protest and aspiration to preserve his self-respect at all cost. Regardless of the nature of the child, if we do not accept him as he is, the educator cannot directly communicate with him, establish a direct dialogue and understand his true needs and problems, and in the final account, cannot give efficient help to the child.

Second, characteristic of innovative teachers is the **concept of empathy with the student**. Psychologists distinguish between value and empathic (i.e. sympathetic) interpersonal understanding. The basic value concept is the socioperceptive image (stereotype) which develops in the teacher in the course of his experience in his contact with the students and which enables him to anticipate and explain his actions in an uncontroversial way. For example, the teacher knows that student A has excellent grades whereas student B has failing grades. These stereotypes are the teacher's "lenses" through which he can "see" and "understand" these students. With an empathic understanding, conversely, on each occasion the teacher acts "here and now," trying to enter into the inner world of the student and see the world through the student's eyes: "To understand the children means to put oneself in their shoes" (Sh.A. Amonashvili, p 10), "to see everything from the eyes of a distant childhood" (Ye.N. Ilin, p 226), "always to practice looking at oneself through the eyes of the children" (I.P. Ivanov, p 365). The concept of empathy with the student (as well as the adoption of his personality) offers the teacher the possibility of achieving a full undistorted

interpersonality contact with the student and the possibility of helping the student precisely when such help is the most needed at a given time.

Finally, the third feature of innovative teachers is the **typical concept of the open and intimate contact with the students**. The personality of the teacher, his thoughts and emotions must not be hidden behind the mask or facade of his social role but be presented to the students openly and adequately. The spiritual world of the teacher, the world of his interests, searches, doubts, problems, findings, joys and sorrows must be open to the students. It is only such a trust of the teacher in the students that creates the trust of the students in their teacher, and the desire to share with him their inner world and enter in an equal dialogue with the teacher: "The teacher must be truly open only to the children" (Ye.N. Ilin, p 265); "the real lesson is always a conversation among all people in the class: teacher and students" (T.I. Goncharova, p 291); "it is important for the actions and way of life of educators to be the same as the one they instill in the children" (A.A. Dubrovskiy, p 507). The concept of open communication demands of the teacher not to play a role but always to be himself. It is only thus that the teacher can enable the students to understand, accept and love him as he is. A trusting attitude of the students toward the teacher is the most important prerequisite for his own growth and advancement as a person.

We are convinced that these three concepts of personality premises for efficient pedagogy of cooperation are not exclusively familiar to the authors of this collection. One way or another they exist in the work and teaching experience of **every** teacher. Among our teachers the number of promoters of such ideas has never been limited, nor are they now, to a handful of names "canonized" by public opinion. As a rule, our teachers perfectly understand that the restructuring of their work and way of thinking must begin not by adopting the concepts of one innovative teacher or another, famous throughout the country and that **restructuring must begin with oneself**, with reorganizing and developing one's own pedagogical experience. The pedagogy of cooperation is not based on lesson summaries. They cannot be borrowed from anyone but must be sought and developed within oneself.

"We cannot speak of efficient means of education and upbringing if we are unfamiliar with the nature of the educator who will use these methods, with his heart and soul" (Sh.A. Amonashvili, p 12). Anyone who considers the experience of innovative teachers must always remember this "main" features and remember that their experience constitutes not only "support signals," "argued management," "creative diaries," "no-grade training," "literary details," and so on, and so forth, but the specific **personality position**, if you wish, the practical educational philosophy, which is a sum of ethical and psychological ideas concerning the student and the teacher. That is why the rich sharing and mastery of educational experience acquired by innovative teachers

are essentially impossible unless the teacher restructures his own personality stance. It is important to realize that the pedagogy of cooperation is not a panacea for all difficulties and problems. It is not a collection of patented pedagogical prescriptions fitting all cases in life but a way to the personality (the mind, feelings and conscience) of the child. Along the path which is now being followed, step-by-step, by the authors of this collection, and together with many hundreds and thousands of supporters of the efforts of the teacher, a many more difficulties must be surmounted and a great deal of unsolved problems must be solved; risks, errors, mistakes and dead-ends are possible. However, it is just as obvious that it is only along this way that creative pedagogical searching is possible and so are true successes, achievements and discoveries.

Let us note in conclusion that the pedagogy of cooperation is of some interest not only to the personnel within the public education system. The experience in democratizing interpersonal relations in the schools and in the "teacher-student" system could be used as a model for changing a number of interpersonality relations and, above all, relations within the "manager-performer" or "chief-subordinate" system. The movement of our society toward restoring and developing the standards of socialist democracy is impossible outside of any real change in administrative-command forms of interpersonality relations in all areas of social life. That is why the collection of works by innovative teachers could become a useful aid for anyone who wants to be in step with the requirements of our time. Without any exaggeration, we consider this the high but unfortunately not as yet fully realized purpose of the true teacher, to be the mentor and model not only for children and young people but also for adults and society at large.

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Development of Socioethical Problems of Science
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[Review by V. Stepin, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, of the book *Etika Nauki. Problemy i Diskussii* [The Ethics of Science. Problems and Discussions] by I.T. Frolov and B.G. Yudin. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 399 pp]

[Text] This book by I.T. Frolov and B.G. Yudin considers a problem area which appeared and has been subject to active development relatively recently and which is described by the authors as the socioethical aspects of the development of science.

The book's authors particularly emphasize that in the broad and comprehensive debates on socioethical problems of science, political personalities, jurists, theologians, journalists and representatives of social movements and organizations are taking part side-by-side with representatives of the special sciences and philosophers. In the course of such discussions a variety of assessments relative to specific scientific and technical accomplishments, specific research areas and trends, and so on, are formulated and weighed. In themselves, such discussions, as the authors indicate, are becoming a characteristic feature in the life of contemporary science and are influencing it substantially.

As it develops along with the methodology, history and sociology of science, and as it interacts with all of them and many other areas of knowledge, the ethics of science acts as one of the means of the study of science. No overall concept of its laws and future development are possible without the study of the socioethical aspects of scientific activities.

Adopting a systemic-historical approach, the authors describe the origins, development and interconnection among the social functions performed by science. They discuss its cultural-conceptual functions and its role as a direct social productive force and the fact that today's science increasingly acts not only as a production but also a social force. As such, it "has a complex influence on social life, affecting particularly intensively the technical and economic development, social management and social institutions which are involved in shaping the outlook" (p 56).

As the authors indicate, absolutizing any one of these functions and ignoring the other is inherent in the interpretation of scientific activities as having no value aspects, including socioethical ones, and thus failing to create grounds for a serious discussion of problems of the social and moral responsibility of the scientists. Conversely, proceeding from the concept of the complex interweaving among the basic social functions of science, we obtain a more complete depiction and can see that problems of ethics and of the social responsibility of the scientist are organic components in his activities.

Another trend of studies in substantiating the concept of the ethics of science as a separate form of its study is related to the specific and meaningful analysis made in the book of a number of contemporary debates on ethical problems of scientific activities. A great variety of areas of scientific knowledge are subjects of such debates: nuclear physics, molecular biology and genetics, biomedical research, ecological problems, inheriting intellectual capabilities, experiments with people, sociobiology and an extravagant problem such as the cloning of individuals and "computer ethics" and, finally, the social responsibility of scientists in solving contemporary problems, above all the most vital among them, which are restraining the arms race and safeguarding peace the world over. The study of such discussions leads to the conclusion

that, generally speaking, no single area of science is safe from future conflicts involving exceptionally sharp ethical dilemmas which, as a rule, do not allow for simple one-dimensional solutions.

The authors indicate that the current discussions on the ethics of science are not something temporary and transient but that, conversely, increasingly act as an inseparable component in the functioning and development of scientific activities. The extent to which science will be prepared to handle such problems will greatly depend on "the extent to which we shall be able to advance in doing serious analytical work in the area of scientific ethics" (p 311).

Based on the Marxist concept of science, the authors state that the positive and negative consequences of scientific and technical progress must be studied specifically, in connection with the specific type of society and its prevailing scale of values.

In summing up the results of the study, the authors single out in their last chapter three characteristic views and dilemmas considered most characteristic on the question of the social responsibility of the scientist: pitting social responsibility against the objective logic of scientific development ("if I don't do it someone else will"); shifting social responsibility not to the scientist but to the social forces which determine the practical use to which scientific discoveries are put; limiting the realm of social responsibility to applied research and excluding basic research from this area. The authors convincingly prove the groundlessness of all such contrapositions by describing the variety of activities with which the contemporary scientist must deal.

In characterizing the problem of the social responsibility of the scientist as being pivotal in terms of the ethics of science, the authors reach the conclusion that in itself, although necessary, social responsibility is insufficient in terms of totally excluding the possibility of misusing the achievements of science and that this problem can be solved as a whole only as part of the overall progressive development of society.

"It would be extremely unreasonable," the authors note, "to exaggerate the possibilities of science and scientists in humanizing the progress of science and technology. However, it would be even more unreasonable and essentially irresponsible to ignore the active socioethical humanistic position of the scientific public" (pp 396-397).

This book, which is written in a sharply polemical style, not only offers solutions to an entire set of complex controversial problems but also formulates new problems which need further development.

In particular, the problem of the dialectical connection between the characteristics of contemporary cognitive activities, aimed at a representation of the world and the new requirements of the ethics of science, is of great importance.

Not only have new social functions appeared in contemporary science along with new features of research communications and organization of scientific work, but also the target area of scientific knowledge has changed greatly.

For example, with increasing frequency the natural and technical sciences must take into consideration the human factor in the study of their targets, for the complicated and developing natural complexes of which man is a component, are assuming a special and ever growing role.

Naturally, under these circumstances the objective knowledge of the subject and the search for truth demand the broadening of ethical concepts of special importance to science as well as an active humanistic orientation of research.

The study of the ethical problems of specific areas of knowledge, such as the biosphere, genetic engineering, computerization and others, initiated with this book, is the first major step to the profound study of cognitive situations in contemporary science from this viewpoint.

In recent years increasingly articles and books have been published in our country on the ethical problems of science. Unfortunately, for the time being such works have not acquired the type of "critical mass" which is required in order to achieve a more intensive and coordinated development of this area of research.

Let us hope that this book will contribute to lifting studies in this area to a qualitatively new level of theoretical analysis and the formulation of practical recommendations.

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05003

Joint Issue

18020008q Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian
No 2, Jan 88 (signed to press 15 Jan 88) p 126

[Text] The October anniversary issue jointly compiled by the editors of the theoretical and political journals of the Georgian, Azerbaijani and Armenian Communist Party Central Committees, was a noteworthy phenomenon in the ideological life of the party organizations of the Transcaucasian Republics.

The entire content of the joint issue of the journals KOMMUNIST GRUZII, KOMMUNIST AZER-BAYDZHANA and PO LENINSKOMU PUTI, which came out under the slogan of "Within A United Family Toward Common Objectives," describes the tremendous accomplishments of the peoples of the Transcaucasus in 7 decades of development on the path of the October Revolution. The articles written by party workers, scientists, men of culture and veterans of the revolutionary struggle clearly describe the economic and social achievements in the development of the area, the strengthening and intensification of the friendship and international contacts and interaction and reciprocal enrichment among the national cultures of the peoples of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia, depicting the traditions of the joint struggle waged by the working people for the victory of the Soviet system, the establishment of the socialist system and the interpretation of superstructural processes occurring in the republics.

However the anniversary issue should have paid greater attention to the study of the complex problems in the present stage of development of the land of the soviets and the Transcaucasian Republics. The anniversary is not only a moment of remembrance and of consideration of the great and difficult path which was covered but, above all, a look into the future, a search of ways and means for the acceleration of our progress toward a qualitatively new status in Soviet society.

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Meetings with the Editors. Chronicle

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[Text] In accordance with the plan for party relations between the CPSU and the PZPR a delegation of the journal NOWE DROGI, the theoretical and political organ of the PZPR Central Committee, is visiting the Soviet Union. The delegation includes W. Klimczak, first deputy editor in chief, and A. Kupih, head of the international department. Meetings were held between them and the editors of KOMMUNIST, at which problems of the participation of the journals in the implementation of the radical economic reforms in the USSR and Poland and tasks of democratization of all areas of social life were discussed. The Polish journalists held discussions at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System, and visited the Lithuanian SSR and Kaliningrad Oblast.

The editors were visited by M. Banasak, editor in chief of EINHEIT, scientific socialist theory and practice journal of the SED Central Committee. An exchange of views was held on problems of work and creative cooperation between the two fraternal journals.

The editors were visited by M. Rakowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Sejm vice-marshal. In the course of the discussion a broad range of problems were covered related to the restructuring in the USSR and the work of the journal in covering CPSU activities under contemporary conditions.

M. Elinek, member of the editorial board and head of the international department of RUDE PRAVO, organ of the CZCP Central Committee, visited the editors. He asked questions on the participation of KOMMUNIST in covering restructuring in all areas of life of Soviet society and CPSU activities in guiding the building of socialism.

The journal was visited by a delegation of leading personnel of provincial committees of the Argentine Communist Party. The talk covered problems of the guiding role of the CPSU under conditions of restructuring, problems of democratization of intraparty life, the role of mass information media in the development of glasnost, criticism and self-criticism and preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

A meeting was held in Orenburg attended by social scientists, journalists, and secretaries of party organizations of VUZs, technical and secondary schools and PTU, to discuss the restructuring processes as covered by KOMMUNIST. Wishes were expressed on increasing the number of contributors and paying greater attention to problems of ideology and education.

KOMMUNIST editors participated in sociopolitical readings attended by library workers in Moscow. In the course of the meeting topical problems of the radical economic reform and the further democratization of life of Soviet society, tasks of the public libraries in restructuring spiritual life and the dissemination of ideas of the 27th Party Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee Plenums were discussed. Participants in the readings were informed of the journal's publication plans for 1988.

A meeting between KOMMUNIST editors and the faculty and students of the Air Force Academy imeni Yu.A. Gagarin was held. The discussion focused on problems of renovation in various areas of social life, including the armed forces, on the eve of their 70th anniversary. Specific wishes and critical remarks were addressed to the editors. The journal's representatives described the creative plans of KOMMUNIST.

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Regular Enrollment of Students and Graduate Students at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences

*18020008s Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian
No 2, Jan 88 (signed to press 15 Jan 88) pp 127-128*

[Text] The regular enrollment of students and graduate students in the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences is hereby announced.

Enrollment will be based on recommendations issued by the central committees of communist parties of union republics and party kraykoms and obkoms. The personnel of the central organizations and ideological establishments will be processed by the party committees (collegiums) of these organizations and establishments, via the Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

Party, soviet and ideological workers will be accepted for correspondence or full-time training as cadre reserves for leading work on the republic, kray and oblast levels and within the apparatus of the central organizations and ideological establishments. The correspondence-full-time form of training will be for a 3-year term. The correspondence cycle will not exceed 2 years and the full-time cycle will not exceed 1 year on-the-job training.

Postgraduate studies will be offered in the following departments: CPSU history, philosophy, political economy, scientific communism, USSR history, party building, Soviet state building and law, ideological work, socialist culture, national economy, management of socioeconomic processes, world politics and international CPSU activities, mass information media, applied sociology and psychology, and the scientific atheism institute.

Applications for postgraduate studies, based on competition, will be opened to senior personnel of party, soviet and ideological agencies, teachers and scientific associates of party training and scientific institutions with higher education, not older than 35, and with a party membership of no less than 3 years. Applicants for graduate studies will take competitive entrance examinations on CPSU history (philosophy), their chosen subject and a foreign language and will submit a paper on a topical subject as well as a list of their publications, including articles in newspapers and journals.

The central committees of communist parties of union republics and the party kraykoms and obkoms will send to the rectorate of the academy the documents of those recommended for postgraduate studies by no later than 15 February and for those accepted for correspondence-full-time studies by no later than 1 April 1988.

Applicants for the correspondence-full-time department of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences will be invited for a talk in April-May and those recommended for postgraduate studies, for their entrance examinations in May-June 1988.

Paid leave, not to exceed 30 calendar days, will be granted for preparations and taking entrance examinations for postgraduate studies.

Classes at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences will begin on 1 September. Postgraduate students will be offered hostel accommodations (without their families).

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Regular Enrollment of Students in Higher Party Schools

*18020008t Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian
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[Text] The regular student enrollment in higher party schools is hereby announced.

Enrollment will be based on recommendations issued by the central committees of communist parties of union republics, party kraykoms and obkoms and the Moscow City Party Committee. Personnel of the central organizations and ideological institutions will have their documents processed by the party committees (collegiums) of these organizations and establishments, via the Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

The higher party schools will accept CPSU members with a party membership of no less than 3 years, among senior personnel of the party apparatus, released secretaries of primary party organizations, personnel of soviet and Komsomol agencies and ideological establishments and organizations, workers, kolkhoz members, specialists who are members of party committees, and members of soviets of people's deputies, as follows:

Individuals with higher training, for 2-year full-time and 3-year correspondence departments;

Students with secondary education, for 4-year full-time departments.

The full-time departments of the higher party schools will accept personnel under the age of 35.

By no later than 1 April 1988 the central committees of communist parties of union republics, party kraykoms and obkoms and the Moscow Party Gorkom will submit to the higher party schools the applications of personnel recommended for training, excerpts from buro decrees, cadre files, health certificates and character references ratified by the party organization.

Those recommended for 4-year departments will attend talks on social science and will take tests in Russian language and literature (composition) at the higher party schools in May-June. They will be granted paid leave not to exceed 15 calendar days to prepare themselves for the talk and the examinations.

Candidates for 2-year full-time and 3-year correspondence departments will be invited to the higher party schools for a talk in April-May.

Classes in the higher party schools will begin on 1 September. Students will be provided with hostel accommodations (excluding their families).

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